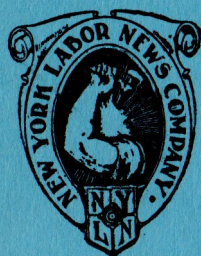


Twentieth National Convention Socialist Labor Party

April 27—April 30, 1940

Minutes, Reports, Platform, Resolutions, Etc.



Published 1942
National Executive Committee
Socialist Labor Party
61 Cliff Street
New York, N.Y.

**Proceedings of the
Twentieth National Convention
Socialist Labor Party**

April 27-30, 1940

This important volume contains the minutes of the convention; the Report of the National Executive Committee to the convention; the Report of the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE; the part played by Study Classes and Weekly People Clubs; Platform of the Socialist Labor Party, 1940; Declaration of Fundamental Principles; Resolutions on matters vital to the working class; Speeches of Acceptance of the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates, John W. Aiken and Aaron M. Orange; Radio Broadcasts from the Socialist Labor Party's Golden Jubilee Celebration Banquet by National Secretary Arnold Petersen and National Editor Eric Hass; convention broadcast of Presidential candidate; reprint of "A Review and Outlook," by Arnold Petersen; "The Socialist Labor Party Vote, 1892-1940," compiled by Joseph C. Borden, Jr.; on interference with and restrictions on civil liberties, political rights, etc.; concluding with a listing of Socialist Labor Party publications for an S.L.P. Library.

240 pages—Price 50 cents

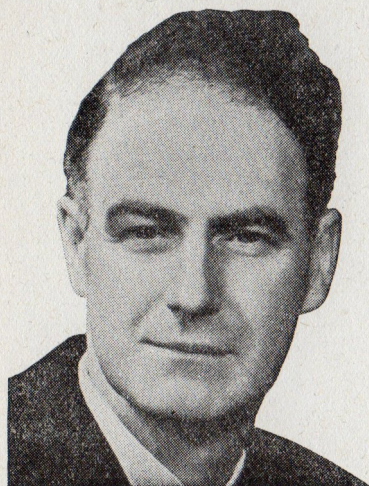
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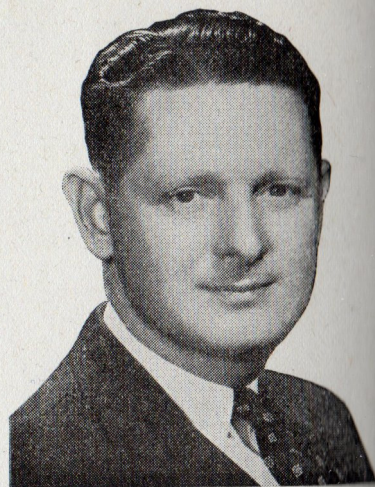


JOHN W. AIKEN

*Socialist Labor Party Candidate
for President, 1940*

"We are living at a time when the capitalist system faces complete bankruptcy and collapse. As a matter of fact, since it has been my pleasure to be standard-bearer for the Socialist Labor Party since 1932, and since it has been my fortune, too, more or less to represent the Socialist Labor Party and spread its program, interpret events as they have arisen in that period during campaigns, I can readily see now that throughout these twelve years the National Conventions of the Socialist Labor Party have catalogued the decline of capitalism."

—John W. Aiken.



AARON M. ORANGE

*Socialist Labor Party Candidate
for Vice President, 1940*

"I am proud of being a member of the Socialist Labor Party whose scientific program, based on the principles of Marx and De Leon, is the only one worthy the serious consideration of the working class of the United States of America. I am proud of accepting the nomination for Vice President of the United States, and thus serving as mouthpiece of the organization in this National Campaign of 1940. I pledge to give my all—time, resources, energy—to the end that the Party's message be spread among the workers of America."

—Aaron M. Orange.



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Convention	7
Address of National Secretary Arnold Petersen Upon Opening the 20th National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party	25
The Report of the National Executive Committee to the Convention...	30
Introduction	30
The 1936 Campaign	35
Organizers on the Road	35
John P. Quinn, 35; Joseph Pirincin, 36; George E. Bopp, 37; Aaron M. Orange, 37; Mack Johnson, 37; Carl Vetter, 38; John P. Quinn's Report, 38; Joseph Pirincin's Report, 41.	
Constitutional Amendments	44
State of Organization	52
States, 52; Federations: Bulgarian, 63; Hungarian, 66; South Slavonian, 68; Greek S.L.P. Agitation, 72; Ukrainian S.L.P. Agitation, 73; General, 75.	
Party Membership	78
Party Press and Literature	79
WEEKLY PEOPLE, 79; New York Labor News, 84.	
Finances and Party Funds	88
The Radio	95
The S.L.P. Movement Abroad	98
Great Britain, 99; Australia, 101; Canada, 102.	
Restrictions on Free Speech, Distribution of Literature in Streets, Restricting the Ballot, the Radio, etc.	106
Distribution and Sale of Literature in Streets, etc., 106; Illegal Raids (Dies Committee), 117; American Civil Liberties Union, 118; The Hatch Law, 121; Restrictions on Ballot, etc., 122.	
Internal Difficulties	124
Trials and Errors (Expulsions, etc.), 124; Errors, Trials and Tribulations (Criticisms, Dissensions and Adjustments), 133.	
The National and International Scene	147
General (The War, etc.), 147; The Stalinist Crime, 151; United States and the War, 154; United States Stalinism, 155; Stalinist Burlesquerie, 157; "Socialist Party," 158; Ultramontaniam, 161.	

(Continued on next page.)

National Campaign 1940	163
Miscellaneous	166
In Memoriam	168
Conclusion	169
The Report of the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE	173

APPENDIX A

Platform of the Socialist Labor Party	181
Declaration of Fundamental Principles	183
Resolutions	185
On the European War, 185; On the U.S.S.R., 186; On International Socialism, 188; On Unemployment, 189; On the Economic Organization of Labor, 190; On Civil Liberties, 191; On the National Association of Broadcasters Code, 193; On Strikes, 194.	
Speech of Acceptance of John W. Aiken	197
Speech of Acceptance of Aaron M. Orange	199
Addresses over WHN from Golden Jubilee Banquet, New York City, April 27, 1940	199
Address of Arnold Petersen, 199; Address of Eric Hass, 201.	
Address of John W. Aiken over WHN, New York City, April 28	202
A Review and Outlook (December 31, 1940), by Arnold Petersen	206
The Socialist Labor Party Vote, 1892-1940, compiled from official sources by Joseph C. Borden, Jr.	209

APPENDIX B

Interference with, and Restrictions on, Civil Liberties, Political Rights (Ballot, etc.), from Report of National Secretary to National Executive Committee, 1941	212
Alien Registration Law, 220; the Ballot, 221.	

APPENDIX C

S.L.P. Study Classes Conducted in 1939	229
Report on Weekly People Clubs for Year 1939	229

THE TWENTIETH NATIONAL CONVENTION

of the

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Convention

Morning Session, Saturday, April 27.

Convention called to order at 11:45 a.m. by National Secretary Arnold Petersen, at the Cornish Arms Hotel, New York City, with the following introductory remarks (See WEEKLY PEOPLE, May 11, "'Capital Damaged Beyond Mending' Says Secretary in 'Keynote' Address"):

Joseph Pirincin, of Pennsylvania, was elected Temporary Chairman. William Woodhouse, Ohio, elected Temporary Vice Chairman.

Aaron M. Orange, New York, elected Temporary Recording Secretary.

A Credentials Committee was elected as follows: F. Zermann, Hungarian Federation; E. F. Teichert, New York; F. Schnur, Illinois.

At this point Eric Hass, New York, requested to be excused in order to make a scheduled broadcast over Station WOR, at 12:45 noon.

A recess of 10 minutes was declared at 12:10 to permit the Credentials Committee to examine the credentials of the delegates and report.

The Credentials Committee reported that the following States and Federations are entitled to representation at the 20th National Conven-

tion of the Socialist Labor Party, and credentials from the following delegates reported received:

California, two delegates, Herbert Steiner, Carl H. Vetter.

Colorado, one delegate, D. L. Clow. Connecticut, one delegate, Joseph C. Borden, Jr.

District of Columbia, one delegate, Leo Stein.

Illinois, two delegates, Frank Schnur, Albert Wirth.

Indiana, one delegate, Walter Jerominski.

Maryland, one delegate, F. N. H. Lang.

Massachusetts, two delegates, John W. Aiken, John P. Quinn.

Michigan, one delegate, James Sim.

Minnesota, one delegate, Samuel Johnson.

Missouri, one delegate, W. W. Cox.

New Jersey, one delegate, George E. Bopp.

New York, five delegates, Eric Hass, Samuel Smiley, Emil F. Teichert, Aaron M. Orange, Stephen Emery.

Ohio, three delegates, Leo Gillespie, A. S. Pickett, Jr., W. Woodhouse.

Oregon, one delegate, C. H. Svenson, alternate, serving in place of Alf. Hoglund, the regularly elected delegate, who was unable to serve.

Pennsylvania, two delegates, Joseph Pirincin, Edw. A. Teichert.
 Washington, two delegates, J. C. Allen, Henry Gusey.
 Wisconsin, one delegate, S. Rack.
 Bulgarian S.L.F., six delegates, Theo. Baeff, Theo. Gramaticoff, D. Anastasoff, D. Pankoff, S. D. Kushleff, V. Elieff, alternate serving in place of S. Sterioff, the regularly elected delegate, who was unable to serve.
 Hungarian S.L.F., two delegates, Frank Zermann, Theo. Vaszily.
 South Slavonian S.L.F., four delegates, Peter Slepceovich, Nicholas Stanich, L. Stefanovich, L. Petrovich.
 Canadian Socialist Labor Party, fraternal delegate, H. C. Risley.

The committee recommended that the foregoing forty-three delegates to the Convention be seated. On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

A Committee on Rules was elected as follows: J. P. Quinn, Massachusetts; S. Smiley, New York; Edw. A. Teichert, Pennsylvania.

After a short recess the Committee on Rules recommended for adoption the following Order of Business and Rules:

A.

1. Organization.
 - (a) Election of Chairman, Vice Chairman and Secretary.
 - (b) Election of Permanent Sergeant-at-Arms, and a Messenger.
2. Election of Committee on Mileage.
3. Report of the National Executive Committee.
4. Report of the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.
5. Election of Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.

6. Election of Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.
7. Election of Committee on Attitude of the Party toward Economic Organization and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.
8. Election of Auditing Committee.
9. Election of Committee on Party Press and Literature.
10. Election of Committee on International Socialist Movement.
11. Election of National Campaign Committee.
12. Roll Call of Delegates for the Introduction of Resolutions for Reference to Committees.

B.

The following Order of Business for each day after the first day:

1. Election of Chairman.
2. Roll Call of Delegates.
3. Reading of Minutes.
4. Communications.
5. Reports of Committees and Action Thereon.
6. Unfinished Business.
7. New Business.
8. The last half-hour of each afternoon session to be devoted to the receiving of resolutions to be read and referred to the appropriate committees.
9. Morning sessions from 10 a.m. to 12 m. Afternoon sessions from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. Evening sessions if necessary.

C.

1. Nomination of Candidates for United States President and Vice President, second day of the Convention.
2. Election of Committee on Vacancy, following nominations for President and Vice President.
3. Election of National Secretary, second day of the Convention.

4. Election of Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, second day of the Convention.
5. Report of Committee on Platform, second day of the Convention, immediately following election of officers.
6. Reports of Delegates, last day of the Convention.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

At 12.43 a motion was carried that the Convention remain in session during the 15-minute broadcast by Eric Hass over the Mutual Broadcasting System.

On motion the temporary officers were made permanent for the duration of the Convention.

Sophie Blume was elected Assistant Recording Secretary for the duration of the Convention.

D. Nickshich was elected Sergeant-at-Arms for the duration of the Convention.

On motion the Convention adjourned at 1.05 p.m. to reconvene for the afternoon session at 2 p.m.

Afternoon Session, Saturday, April 27.

The Convention was called to order by Chairman Pirincin at 2.15 p.m.

Motion carried that delegates rise on roll call for the purpose of introducing them to the Convention.

At roll call all delegates were present.

The following communications sending fraternal greetings were received and read to the Convention:

Workers' Organization of De Leon's Followers in Montevideo, Uruguay; L. Cotton, National Secretary British Socialist Labor Party; Dr. A. S. Dowler, Glendale, Calif.; James M. Reid, Toronto, Ont., Canada.

A Committee on Mileage was elected as follows: F. C. Zermann, Hungarian S.L.F.; T. Gramaticoff, Bulgarian S.L.F.; W. Woodhouse, Ohio.

At 2.30 p.m. the National Secretary commenced the reading of the Report of the N.E.C. to the Convention. At the suggestion of the National Secretary, National Organizers J. P. Quinn and J. Pirincin read their respective reports, which were embodied in the Report of the N.E.C.

On motion the reading of the Report of the N.E.C. was interrupted and a motion was entertained to prohibit smoking in the Convention Hall during the proceedings.

On motion reading of the Reports of the Language Federations was laid over to the Report of Delegates.

A short recess was called at 4.20 p.m., and on reconvening a telegram of greetings to the Convention was read from Section Fort Wayne, Ind.

The National Secretary resumed the reading of the Report of the N.E.C. On motion the reading was interrupted to hear the report of the Committee on Mileage.

The Committee on Mileage submitted a partial report. On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

On motion the rules were suspended re time of adjournment.

On motion the Convention adjourned at 5.45 p.m., to allow for sufficient time to reach the Banquet Hall, the Convention to reconvene Sunday morning, April 28, at 10 a.m., E.D.S.T.

Morning Session, Sunday, April 28.

Convention was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

On motion Order of Business, item No. 1, Election of Chairman, was suspended, and J. Pirincin was

elected chairman for the duration of the Convention. On motion the same course was followed in the case of the vice chairman.

On roll call the following delegates were absent: D. L. Clow, Colorado; J. C. Allen and H. Gusey, Washington. These delegates reported immediately after the calling of the roll.

Minutes of the session of April 27 were read and adopted as corrected.

On motion the Order of Business was suspended to set the time at which nominations for national candidates might be made. On motion it was decided to make nominations for President and Vice President at 3 p.m., Sunday, April 28.

Communications:

The following communications of fraternal greetings were received and read; From Radnicka Borba Club, Chicago, Ill.; South Slavonian Branch, Milwaukee, Wis.; Paul Bogdan, South Slavonian Branch, Lackawanna, N.Y.; Section Lynn, Mass., sending contribution to the National Campaign Fund; New York State Convention.

National Secretary suggested that telegrams of greetings be sent to Mrs. B. C. De Leon, and Comrades Albert Schwartz and M. Kowarsky, the latter two comrades confined by illness. The National Secretary then read telegrams from Mrs. B. C. De Leon and Comrade Albert Schwartz, and the proposed telegrams to be sent by the Convention. On motion endorsed.

A communication was read from Comrade F. G. Bennick, Baltimore, Md., announcing the establishment of a fully equipped secretarial office in the Cornish Arms Hotel for the use and convenience of Convention committees.

The Committee on Mileage reported a total mileage of \$1,291.23, and recommended that this amount be paid to the various delegates. On

motion the recommendation of the Mileage Committee was concurred in.

The National Secretary resumed the reading of the report of the National Executive Committee. At the suggestion of the National Secretary the report of the Canadian Socialist Labor Party was laid over to Reports of Delegates.

Convention adjourned at 12.10 p.m. until 2 p.m.

Afternoon Session, Sunday, April 28.

Convention called to order at 2.10 p.m.

All delegates present on roll call except F.N.H. Lang of Maryland, who reported late.

National Secretary resumed the reading of his report. On suggestion of the National Secretary, the reading of that portion of the report dealing with the criticisms of Section Wayne County was deferred.

At 3 p.m. the reading of the report was interrupted and the Convention proceeded to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President of the United States.

On motion by E. F. Teichert, New York, seconded by T. Gramaticoff, Bulgarian S.L.F., John W. Aiken, of Chelsea, Mass., was unanimously nominated by the Convention as the candidate for President of the United States.

On motion by Eric Hass, New York, seconded by F. N. H. Lang, Maryland, Aaron M. Orange, New York, was unanimously nominated as the candidate for Vice President of the United States.

Short addresses of acceptance were made by the candidates.

On motion a brief recess was declared.

On motion the N.E.C. Sub-Committee was elected to serve as the Committee on Vacancies.

On motion it was decided to pro-

ceed with the election of National Officers.

On motion by Frank Zermann, Hungarian S.L.F., seconded by S. Smiley, New York, Arnold Petersen was unanimously reelected National Secretary by a rising vote.

On motion by S. Emery, New York, seconded by S. Rack, Wisconsin, Eric Hass was unanimously elected Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

The National Secretary resumed reading the report. At the conclusion of the "In Memoriam" section of the report, the Convention rose in memory of our departed comrades.

At the conclusion of the report of the National Executive Committee, motion was carried to receive the report and the matters requiring action to be referred to the proper committees.

A short recess was declared and at 5.05 p.m., on reconvening, Eric Hass rendered his report as Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

On motion the report of the Editor was received, and the matters requiring action to be referred to the proper committees.

John W. Aiken, candidate for President, asked to be excused in order to broadcast over radio station WJLN, New York, at 6.15 p.m. On motion request was granted.

On motion rules were suspended to proceed with the election of committees.

On motion the following committees were elected:

Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto: J. C. Borden, Jr., Connecticut; J. P. Quinn, Massachusetts; C. H. Vetter, California.

Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto: E. Hass, New York; F. N. H. Lang, Mary-

land; T. Gramaticoff, Bulgarian S.L.F.

Committee on Attitude of Party Toward Economic Organization: J. Sim, Michigan; L. Petrovich, South Slavonian S.L.F.; T. Baeff, Bulgarian S.L.F.

Auditing Committee: W. Woodhouse, Ohio; W. Jerominski, Indiana; N. Stanich, South Slavonian S.L.F.

Committee on Party Press and Literature: T. Vaszily, Hungarian S.L.F.; G. Bopp, New Jersey; H. Steiner, California.

Committee on International Socialist Movement: On motion it was decided to increase the membership of this committee to five: E. F. Teichert, New York; J. W. Aiken, Massachusetts; L. Petrovich, South Slavonian S.L.F.; T. Baeff, Bulgarian S.L.F.; P. Slepceovich, South Slavonian S.L.F.

Committee on National Campaign: J. Pirincin, Pennsylvania; J. C. Allen, Washington; F. Schnur, Illinois.

Committee on Radio: J. Pirincin, Pennsylvania; E. A. Teichert, Pennsylvania; S. Smiley, New York.

Committee on General Party Agitation (on motion it was decided to increase the scope of this committee to include Party Organization): W. W. Cox, Missouri; L. Stefanovich, South Slavonian S.L.F.; S. Emery, New York.

The Committee on Mileage submitted a supplementary report recommending the payment of \$50 additional mileage, bringing the total to \$1,341.23. On motion recommendation concurred in.

The National Secretary introduced the following resolutions, which were referred to the committees indicated:

From the Canadian Executive Committee re exempting Canadian S.L.P. from special assessments: To Committee on General Party Agitation and Organization.

From Section Kings Co., N.Y.:

1. Re taking steps to alter designations of Section names from County to Town or City names: To Committee on General Party Agitation and Organization.

2. Re changing designation "Propaganda" Committee to "Agitation" Committee: To Committee on General Party Agitation and Organization.

3. Re imprinting coupon requesting information on Socialism on all propaganda leaflets: To Committee on Party Press and Literature.

4. Re WEEKLY PEOPLE spot news items being reprinted as leaflets for nation-wide distribution: To Committee on Party Press and Literature.

From Section Wayne County, Mich.: Resolution re Study Class Application Blank: To Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.

On motion it was decided that the Convention remain in session during the radio broadcast of the Presidential candidate over radio station WHN between 6.15 and 6.30.

From Canadian Executive Committee resolution re severing connections with the Socialist Labor Party of the United States, due to war conditions, and constituting the Canadian S.L.P. as an independent, self-governing unit: To Committee on General Party Agitation and Organization.

From Washington S.E.C. proposed constitutional changes: To Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.

On motion it was decided to remain in session until completion of introduction of resolutions.

On motion by W. W. Cox, Missouri, a collection was taken up for the WEEKLY PEOPLE which brought \$60.

Aaron M. Orange, New York, requested to be excused from the morning session of Monday, April 29, be-

cause of employment. On motion request granted.

F. Zermann, Hungarian S.L.F., requested to be excused from attending the sessions of Monday, April 29. On motion request granted.

On motion A.S. Pickett, Jr., Ohio, was elected temporary recording secretary for the morning session of April 29.

The chairman called for the introduction of resolutions by delegates, and the following presented resolutions:

H. Gusey, Washington; J. C. Borden, Jr., Connecticut.

The resolution from the Connecticut S.E.C. was referred to the Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.

On motion it was decided that resolutions by delegates be presented directly to the proper committees.

Convention adjourned at 6.45 p.m. to reconvene Monday, April 29, at 10 a.m.

Morning Session, Monday, April 29

Called to order at 10.20 a.m.

On roll call the following delegates were absent: W. W. Cox, Missouri (on committee); Aaron M. Orange, New York (with excuse); H. Emery, New York (on committee); F. Zermann, Hungarian S.L.F. (with excuse); L. Stefanovich, South Slavonian S.L.F. (on committee). The three delegates absent on committee reported shortly after the roll call.

The minutes of the session of Sunday, April 28, were adopted as corrected.

The regular sergeant-at-arms being absent, the chairman appointed Paul Herzel sergeant-at-arms pro tem.

Credentials Committee reported having received the credentials of Jacob Grossman, New York, alternate delegate to replace Aaron M.

Orange, and Louis Jakab, Hungarian S.L.F., alternate delegate to replace Frank Zermann, and recommended that they be seated as delegates. Motion to concur carried.

Communications:

Telegrams of fraternal greetings were received and read from the following: John Stefanove and Family, Akron, O.; Evan Stacheff, Detroit, Mich.; Bulgarian S.L.F. Group Zora, sending \$178 for the National Campaign Fund; Leopold Hirsh, Akron, O.; Mr. and Mrs. D. D. Dobreff, Cleveland, O., sending \$5; Marko E. Savickoff, Detroit, Mich., sending \$20 for the Weekly People and Radio Funds.

Reports of Committees:

Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto (Eric Hass, New York, reporting):

Recommended the adoption of a National Platform for 1940 and a Declaration of Fundamental Principles.

The National Platform for 1940 was read in its entirety. On motion the Platform was placed before the Convention for action on each paragraph seriatim.

On motion the following paragraphs were adopted as read: 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17. On motion the following paragraphs were adopted as amended: 2, 3, 4, 7 and 13.

On motion the National Platform of 1940 as a whole was unanimously adopted.

The time having arrived for adjournment, it was moved to suspend the rules to hear the Declaration on Fundamental Principles. Carried.

The Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto read the Declaration on Fundamental Principles and recommended its adoption. Motion to concur carried.

Adjournment at 12.15 p.m., to reconvene at 2 p.m.

Afternoon Session, Monday, April 29.

Convention called to order at 2.10 p.m.

On motion it was decided to suspend the rules in order to hear read that section of the N.E.C. report that had been deferred. The National Secretary suggested that the reading of this section be dispensed with, and on motion the suggestion of the National Secretary was concurred in.

On motion the question of smoking in the Convention Hall was reconsidered. The original motion to prohibit smoking was reaffirmed.

Aaron M. Orange, New York, reported present and resumed his office of Recording Secretary. J. Grossman, alternate, withdrew.

On roll call all delegates reported present.

Reports of Committees:

Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto (Eric Hass, New York, reporting) recommended the adoption of the following:

Resolution No. 1, on Civil Liberties;

Resolution No. 2, on Unemployment;

Resolution No. 3, on the Code of the National Association of Broadcasters.

On motion the foregoing resolutions were adopted unanimously.

Committee on International Socialist Movement (E. F. Teichert, New York, reporting) recommended the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. On the European War. On motion the resolution was adopted unanimously as read.

2. On the U.S.S.R. On motion the

resolution was adopted unanimously as read.

3. On International Socialism. On motion the resolution was adopted as corrected.

Committee on Attitude of Party Toward Economic Organizations (J. Sim, Michigan, reporting):

Recommended the adoption of the Resolution on the Economic Organization of Labor. On motion the resolution was adopted unanimously as read.

Committee on Party Press and Literature (H. Steiner, California, reporting):

Recommendation 1: "Writers' Classes.

"We concur in the recommendation of the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE that writers' classes for the purpose of training field contributors to the WEEKLY PEOPLE be organized wherever feasible. We further recommend that a writers' course be prepared under the supervision of the Editor, embodying the essentials of reportorial and factual writing."

On motion recommendation 1 of the committee was concurred in.

Recommendation 2 (a): Re resolution of Section Kings County, N. Y., "That all propaganda leaflets issued contain a coupon, or box, for the convenience of the recipient in requesting information on Socialism"—

"Your committee believes that this resolution is superfluous, inasmuch as this policy is being pursued at present whenever and wherever possible, therefore we recommend non-concurrence on this resolution."

On motion recommendation 2 (a) of this committee was concurred in.

Recommendation 2 (b): Re resolution of Section Kings Co., N.Y., "That 'spot-news' articles of agi-

tational value appearing in the WEEKLY PEOPLE be reprinted for local distribution on a nationwide scale, even if special equipment would be required."

"A similar resolution was effectively answered a year ago in the N. E.C. report, May, 1939, Session, on page 8, column 1, in reply to a letter from Section Wayne County. Even if all other difficulties could be overcome, the 'spot-news' might become 'dead' news before our literature could be placed in the hands of workers on a nationwide scale.

"Special mechanical equipment would undoubtedly be necessary to inaugurate such a plan, and in view of the existing conditions and other circumstances, we do not think such an expenditure would be advisable at this time.

"If and when the condition of the times warrant the enactment of such a plan, your committee recommends that the whole matter be left in the hands of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee."

On motion recommendation 2 (b) of the committee was concurred in.

Recommendation 3: Re resolution from Washington State Convention re pamphlet on Industrial Unionism.

On motion recommendation 3 was recommitted for reconsideration.

Recommendation 4: Re resolution from Washington State Convention on the need for more articles in the WEEKLY PEOPLE stressing Socialist Industrial Unionism:

"Your committee itself believes this resolution to be well taken, and that more emphasis should be placed on this most important phase of the Party's program, in the articles and editorials appearing in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, therefore we recommend its adoption.

On motion recommendation 4 was concurred in.

Recommendation 5: Re more timely and striking headlines in the WEEKLY PEOPLE:

"In order to stimulate the sale of the WEEKLY PEOPLE in public places, your committee recommends that the Editorial Staff should pay more attention to the wording and perfection of more timely and striking headlines."

Motion to adopt recommendation 5 was not concurred in [the recommendation being deemed superfluous].

Recommendation 6: Re publication of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee Minutes in the WEEKLY PEOPLE:

"In view of the limited and precious space in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, your committee recommends that the publication of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee minutes in the WEEKLY PEOPLE be discontinued. We further recommend that the minutes of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee be printed in leaflet form quarterly (every three months) and be sent to the subdivisions for their information."

On motion recommendation 6 was referred to the N.E.C.

Recommendation 7:

"Your committee recommends that the Editorial Staff resume the publication of a May First Magazine, an annual publication, beginning May 1, 1941.

"We feel that the details of publication, size, content, price, etc., should be left in the hands of the Editorial Department and Business Office."

Motion to concur in recommendation 7 lost.

A recess of 10 minutes was de-

clared at 3.40 p.m., and on reconvening the Committee on Party Press and Literature (H. Steiner, California, reporting):

Recommended the withdrawal of its recommendation 3, re resolution from Washington State Convention re pamphlet on Industrial Unionism.

On motion recommendation concurred in.

Auditing Committee (W. Woodhouse, Ohio, reporting):

Reported that the accounts of the National Office and the Party Plant have been audited for the years 1936, 1937, 1938 and 1939, and recommended that these financial reports be adopted.

On motion recommendation was concurred in.

D. L. Clow, Colorado, requested that he be excused from attending the Convention following this afternoon session. On motion request granted.

Chairman Pirincin requested to be relieved in order to make a committee report, and Vice Chairman Woodhouse took the chair.

Committee on Radio (E. A. Teichert, Pennsylvania, reporting) submitted the following recommendations:

"1. In view of our continued highly satisfactory experience with radio broadcasts, your committee recommends that continued and if possible increased attention be given to this means of spreading the Party's message. Every effort should be made to obtain free radio time whenever local stations give radio time during the coming campaign to candidates of other political parties.

"2. It is recommended that whenever possible all contracts for series of radio broadcasts be submitted to the National Office for scrutiny be-

fore they are executed with the station.

"3. It is recommended that whenever an advertising agency handling radio time, or a radio broker, can be found who will treat with the radio station on attempts to censor or revise talks that all contracts for radio time be placed through such agencies or brokers instead of with the station directly.

"4. It is recommended that whenever radio time is engaged that the subdivisions throughout the listening area utilize every available means to advertise the broadcasts. Among such means are: Circularizing the mailing lists, stamping and distributing leaflets, telephone contacts, newspaper advertisements on important broadcasts, and spot announcements.

"5. It is recommended that particularly in a series of broadcasts, emphasis be placed on advertising our literature related to the subject matter of the broadcast and that the address of our National Office be distinctly given, at least two times during each broadcast.

"6. It is recommended that every subdivision investigate the possibility of getting our speakers on the program of local radio forums which may be conducted in their vicinity. Subdivisions should, however, exercise the same caution about engaging in radio forums that is required in engaging in local forums at which representatives of other political parties participate. In case any doubt exists with regard to the propriety of engaging in a particular forum the subdivision concerned should submit the matter to the National Office for decision."

On motion the recommendations of the Committee on Radio were adopted.

On motion the rules were sus-

pended to permit a motion on the question of publishing in the WEEKLY PEOPLE the reports of the N.E.C. and Editor to the Convention. On motion the recommendation to leave this matter to the judgment of the National Office was concurred in.

Committee on National Campaign (J. Pirincin, Pennsylvania, reporting) recommended the adoption of the following resolutions:

"1. Whereas we are all aware of the obvious importance of the 1940 National Campaign; and

"Whereas the successful conduct of this campaign and its utilization for the purpose of spreading the principles and program of the Socialist Labor Party greatly depends upon the available means with which to carry on our work; therefore be it

"Resolved that this Convention instruct the N.E.C. to issue a call for a \$200,000 National Campaign Fund."

On motion recommendation 1 concurred in.

"2. Whereas the amount of \$200,000 is to be set as the objective for the 1940 Campaign Fund; and

"Whereas we have exceeded our Pre-Convention Fund objective of \$20,000; therefore be it

"Resolved that this Convention appeal to the members and sympathizers of the Party to duplicate our Pre-Convention National Campaign Fund efforts to the end that we collect a similar amount by July 18, 1940."

On motion recommendation 2 concurred in.

"5. Whereas the increasing poverty of the working class as a whole limits the extent to which individual workers are able to contribute; and
"Whereas the Party's needs for funds with which to carry on our

revolutionary activities are ever greater; therefore be it

"Resolved that this Convention recommend to the N.E.C. the following methods of gathering the \$200,000 National Campaign Fund which are designed to embrace an ever larger number of contributors:

"(a) That the membership of the Party, and as many sympathizers as are willing, be asked to contribute one week's wages toward the National Campaign Fund."

On motion recommendation concurred in.

"(b) That a six-month voluntary assessment of 50 cents per month be launched, similar in form to the WEEKLY PEOPLE 'Voluntary Assessment' and the National Organizer Fund 'Voluntary Assessment,' and that this voluntary assessment be extended to as many sympathizers as possible."

On motion recommendation concurred in.

"(c) That each subdivision arrange at least one picnic, the entire proceeds of which should go to the National Campaign Fund."

On motion recommendation concurred in.

"(d) That Campaign Fund lists be printed, and that they be sent to the Sections on the basis of at least one fund list for each member of the Section."

On motion recommendation concurred in.

"(e) That Campaign Fund donation stamps be issued, at 10 cents each, in book form. These books are to be issued to our members for the purpose of selling single stamps or whole books to their friends and shopmates."

On motion recommendation was not concurred in.

[At this point the two delegates from Washington requested they be excused to appear before the Com-

mittee on Constitution. On motion request granted.]

"(f) Your committee has given consideration to the suggestion to place a small savings bank in each comrade's home and concurs in the opinion expressed in the N.E.C. report that 'this is a matter that would have to be handled locally if at all practical.'"

On motion recommendation concurred in.

"3. Your committee submits for your consideration the following resolution which was submitted by the Committee on National Campaign to the 1936 National Convention, the only change being, of course, the necessary change of year. The resolution follows:

"Whereas, The increased agitational activities of the Party in connection with the National Campaign of 1940 will inevitably overtax an already over-burdened staff at the National Office; and

"Whereas, These campaign activities should be handled by a special department, organized for that specific purpose, under the jurisdiction of the National Secretary; therefore be it

"Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the N.E.C. the appointment of a special assistant to the National Secretary, to handle such matters in connection with the campaign, and for its duration, as the National Secretary may direct."

On motion recommendation concurred in.

"6. On stationing National Organizers in specified localities, etc."

On motion recommendation 6 was recommitted.

"7. Whereas, in some of the states it is virtually impossible for the Party to get on the ballot (notably California); and

"Whereas, the importance of the workers in these states being

reached by the message of the Socialist Labor Party is recognized; therefore be it

"Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the N.E.C. that state organizations be requested to conduct vigorous write-in campaigns, with special emphasis on the distribution of leaflets, specifically designed to convey the story to the workers of the right that is inherently theirs, and which their reactionary laws deny them; and be it further

"Resolved, That the national organization offer all possible assistance to such states with man-power, funds and other means."

On motion recommendation concurred in.

"4. Whereas, A greater amount of political consciousness is evident during a National Campaign year than at other times; and

"Whereas working men and women are more likely to attend public meetings, both outdoor and indoor; therefore be it

"Resolved, that this Convention recommend to the N.E.C. that our national candidates be toured; and be it further

"Resolved, that this Convention recommend to the N.E.C. that as many national organizers as is considered advisable by the National Office be put on the road for the Party."

On motion recommendation concurred in.

On motion the rules were suspended to hear the report of D. L. Clow, delegate from Colorado.

Committee on General Party Agitation and Organization (S. Emery, New York, reporting):

Recommended the adoption of the following:

1. On the resolution from the

Canadian Executive Committee to sever connections with the Socialist Labor Party of the United States due to war conditions, and constituting the S.L.P. of Canada as an independent, self-governing unit.

On motion recommitted for reconsideration.

2. "In the matter of the two propositions submitted to this Convention by Section Kings County, the committee reports:

"(A) That in the case of the proposal to change the names of those Sections now designated by the names of the counties in which they lie to those of the relevant cities or towns, there have been no arguments advanced to support the proposal, and your committee has been unable to discover any arguments in its support; on the other hand, we know of several sound reasons which render this proposition inadvisable;

"(B) In the case of the proposal to change the designation 'Propaganda Committee,' wherever used by the Party, to 'Agitation Committee,' it appears that this proposition purports to enable the Party to avoid the unpleasant meaning that some are said to associate with the term 'propaganda.'

"However, your committee does not consider this cogent reason enough to warrant the proposed change, especially since the term 'agitation' is as unpleasantly defined by some as is 'propaganda'; moreover, we feel that the term 'agitation' expresses only part of the sense intended, whereas 'propaganda' conveys fully the sense desired.

"Therefore, your committee recommends nonconcurrence by this convention in both these propositions."

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

James Sim, Michigan, submitted a

resolution on instructing the N.E.C. to issue a Declaration of the Party's attitude toward attempts to improve the conditions of the working class.

On motion referred to the N.E.C. for its consideration.

A collection for the WEEKLY PEOPLE was taken in the amount of \$20.11.

Committee on General Party Agitation and Organization:

Recommended adoption of the following:

"In regard to general Party agitation and the effective organization of this agitation, your committee thinks it best to reemphasize at this time the following recommendations which have been repeatedly made to the subdivisions by the National Office:

"*Meetings:* Meetings, both indoor and outdoor, are one of our chief means of disseminating the Party's program. To obtain the maximum of results from them, all subdivisions must plan and organize their public meetings with great care, thought and energy; and these meetings must be widely advertised through handbills, leaflets and such copy as the local press can be persuaded to print.

"*Radio and Community Forums:* Throughout the nation there are regular forums conducted over small radio stations and in community buildings. These offer a splendid opportunity to present the message of the Socialist Labor Party to great numbers. Our membership should be alert and energetic in seizing every such opportunity in their respective localities. Whenever a Party representative is to appear at one of these forums, the fact should be well advertised.

"*Leaflet Distribution:* Leaflet distribution ranks second to none as a method of agitating and educating.

Intelligent organization and systematic, persistent work are the key to its success. Every subdivision should form squads to carry on this work, both from house to house, and on busy thoroughfares, combining with it the selling of WEEKLY PEOPLES wherever possible.

"*Outdoor Literature Sales:* The selling of Party literature on the streets is a fairly recent development. But even in the short time that it has been carried on, it has proved its efficacy as a method of agitation, and should be greatly extended and intensified. Careful selection of sales locations and their regular coverage by peppy sales squads are important considerations in conducting this type of work.

"*S.L.P. Literature in Public Libraries, etc.:* We cannot overestimate the value of getting S.L.P. literature on display in public libraries, bookshops and on newsstands. Though some good work has been done in this direction, infinitely more could and should be done by all our subdivisions.

"*Letters to the Daily Press:* Letters to the capitalist press are obviously an excellent way of getting publicity for the S.L.P. and its principles at practically no expense to us. Far more such letters should be forwarded to 'Letters from Readers' columns. Preferably this work should be planned and supervised by the Sections.

"*Mailing Lists of Contacts:* All subdivisions should create and maintain mailing lists of contacts made by them. These lists should be regularly circularized with Party matter. Also, they should be periodically checked to eliminate useless names. Wherever at all possible it should be arranged to follow up mailings with visits by Party representatives.

"The methods of agitation com-

mented on in the foregoing (and there are other good ones not mentioned) have been proved by time to be potent ones. Nevertheless, your committee is certain that their potency can be greatly augmented if the Party membership prosecutes them in a more thoughtful, organized and vigorous manner."

On motion the recommendations of the Committee on General Party Agitation and Organization were concurred in.

A. M. Orange, New York, requested to be excused from the session of Tuesday morning, April 30. On motion request granted.

On motion A. S. Pickett, Jr., Ohio, was elected Recording Secretary pro tem. for the Tuesday morning session.

Convention adjourned at 6 p.m., to reconvene Tuesday, April 30, at 10 a.m.

Morning Session, Tuesday, April 30.

Convention called to order at 10.25 a.m.

On roll call all delegates reported present except D. L. Clow, Colorado, and A. M. Orange, New York, who were absent with excuse.

Credentials Committee reported having received the credentials of Frank Tome, New York, alternate delegate, to replace A. M. Orange, and recommended that he be seated as a delegate. Motion to concur carried.

Minutes of Monday, April 29, sessions approved as corrected.

Reports of Committees:

Committee on General Party Agitation and Organization (S. Emery, New York, reporting):

1. Recommended non-concurrence in the resolution adopted by the Canadian Executive Committee, April 22, 1940, in which that body

conveys the desire to this Convention that the Canadian Socialist Labor Party become an independent national organization.

On motion recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

2. With respect to the resolution adopted by the Canadian Executive Committee, April 8, 1940, through which that body requests of this Convention: (a) that the Canadian membership be exempted from all special assessments levied by the National Executive Committee of the American Socialist Labor Party, and (b) that American Socialist Labor Party subscription lists be withheld from circulation in Canada, committee recommended that this resolution be referred to the National Executive Committee for such action as that committee shall deem to be necessary and advisable.

On motion recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto (J. C. Borden, Jr., Connecticut, reporting):

Recommended the adoption of the Preamble to the Party's National Constitution as submitted by the N. E.C., with minor changes.

On motion recommendation concurred in.

The committee recommended that the Convention concur in the constitutional changes proposed in the report of the National Executive Committee, with certain changes and additions included in its detailed report, with the exception noted.

On motion the recommendations of the committee with respect to changes in the following clauses were concurred in:

Article II, new Section 7;
Article II, present Section 7;
Article II, Section 11;
Article II, Section 14;

Article II, Section 16;
Article II, Section 19;
Article II, Section 20;
Article II, Section 23;
Article II, Section 24;
Article II, Section 25;
Article II, Section 29;
Article II, Section 32;
Article II, Section 44;
Article V, Section 5;
Article V, Section 7;
Article V, Section 10;
Article V, Section 13 (d);
Article V, Section 13 (i);
Article VI, Section 3;
Article VII, Section 3;
Article VII, Section 4;
Article VII, Section 11;
Article VIII, Section 3.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in the proposed new Section 3, Article XIII. On motion recommendation of committee concurred in.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in the proposed amendments of Article II, Section 47, clauses (f) and (h), submitted by Section Wayne County, Mich. On motion the committee's recommendation was concurred in.

The committee recommended the adoption of a new clause (f), of Article II, Section 47, as follows:

"Any person wishing to join a study class shall, after attending not more than six sessions, fill out an enrollment blank furnished by the Party. Members of an advanced study class shall fill out an enrollment blank at the first session."

On motion recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended the amending of Article II, Section 47 (g), to read:

"No member of the Party may attend any so-called study class conducted by another organization, etc."

Motion to concur was made and seconded.

It was moved to amend to include the words "Study Class or," so that the clause would read as follows:

"No Study Class or Party member may attend, etc."

During the discussion under this head the rules were suspended to continue the report of the committee past the regular hour of adjournment.

Stephen Emery, New York, requested to be excused from attendance at the afternoon session. On motion request granted.

Motion to adjourn at 12.55 to reconvene at 2 p.m. carried.

Afternoon Session, Tuesday, April 30.

Convention called to order at 2.10 p.m. On motion recess was declared until the assistant to the Recording Secretary reported.

Convention reconvened at 2.25 p.m.

On roll call all delegates reported present with the exception of D. L. Clow, Colorado; S. Emery, New York, who were absent with excuse; and S. Smiley, New York, who requested through the chair to be excused for two hours from the afternoon session.

Aaron M. Orange, New York, reported present and resumed his office as Recording Secretary.

On motion Frank Tome, New York, alternate, retained his seat replacing S. Emery.

Report of Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto:

Re Article II, Section 47 (g): It was moved to amend the amendment by striking out the word "or Party" and inserting before the words "Study Class" the phrase "formally enrolled."

On motion the whole matter was recommitted to the Committee on

Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.

On motion it was decided to recess at 2.40 p.m. until the Committee on Constitution, etc., was ready to report.

Reconvened at 4.20 p.m.

D. Pankoff, Bulgarian S.L.F., requested that he be excused from the session at 4 p.m. On motion request granted.

S. Smiley, New York, reported present.

Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto:

Recommended that the following be adopted as new paragraph (g) of Section 47, Article II, present clause (g) to be deleted:

(g) "No enrolled study class member may attend any so-called study class conducted by another organization, or by a person or persons not connected with the Party. This provision shall not apply to discussion groups."

Recommended new Section to be designated Section 48 (Article II), as follows:

"48 (a) Wherever possible and advisable Sections shall organize groups of workers who have manifested interest in the Party to be known as discussion groups. Such groups shall in no sense be confused with the formal study classes.

"(b) The instructor of the discussion group shall be selected in the same manner as provided for the selection of the study class instructor, and shall at all times be subject to the authority of the Section, and may at any time be recalled by the Section.

"(c) Discussion groups must be kept under the strict control of the Section, and the instructor of the group must never permit such group to be used as a stamping ground for agents or adherents of other politi-

cal parties or other organizations for furthering the propaganda of such political parties or organizations.

"(d) If and when any member of such discussion group furnishes reasonable grounds for assuming that he is using, or intends to use, the discussion group for such ulterior purposes, he shall forthwith be eliminated from the group.

"(e) When a member manifests understanding and qualities which would seem to justify the conclusion that he has matured to the point of qualifying for the study class of the Section, he shall be encouraged to join such class."

Committee further recommended that what were formerly parts of clause (g), Section 47 of Article II, be inserted in the Constitution as a new Section 49, as follows:

"Section 49 (a): No member of the Party shall be permitted to attend courses in economics offered by schools or 'institutions of public education' of collegiate, preparatory or secondary-school rank, except in cases where such courses are prescribed and required toward the attainment of a professional or academic degree or diploma.

"(b) No member of the Party shall be permitted to function as director or teacher of any so-called labor college or study class which is not under the control of the Party."

On motion the recommendations of the committee were concurred in.

The committee recommended the following changes in Article II, Section 47 (h), line 1, the words "Applicants to" be stricken out, and the words "Those who attend" substituted.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in the resolutions of the

Washington State Convention rechanges in Article VIII, Section 3, Article XIII, Section 3, and proposed new Section 11, Article VII.

On motion the committee's recommendations were concurred in.

The committee recommended that the matter submitted by the Connecticut S.E.C. regarding state mass convention acts being submitted to referendum, be referred to the N.E.C. at its coming session. On motion recommendation was concurred in.

The committee recommended that the resolution submitted by Section Washington, D.C., "that all State Platforms shall be submitted to the National Executive Committee for approval," be concurred in, and further recommended its inclusion in the National Constitution as a new Section of Article IV.

On motion recommendations of the committee were concurred in.

The committee recommended the following amendment to Article II, Section 1: Add the words "Declaration of Principles" after the word "Platform."

On motion recommendation was concurred in.

Committee on National Campaign (J. Pirincin, Pennsylvania, reporting):

Recommended adoption of the following resolution:

"Whereas, The possibility of determining the approximate number of citizens who endorse the platform of the Socialist Labor Party is largely dependent upon our ability to get on the ballot throughout the country; and

"Whereas, The increasing obstacles placed in our path by the ever more reactionary election codes of many states make it difficult and, in some cases, almost impossible for the Party to get on the ballot; therefore be it

"Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the N.E.C. that as many national organizers as is necessary, and, of course, possible, be placed in those states where it is considered most important for the Party to appear on the ballot."

On motion recommendation was concurred in.

A. S. Pickett, Jr., Ohio, requested that he be excused at 5.45 p.m. On motion request granted.

The report of the Bulgarian S.L.F. was read by T. Gramaticoff, and on motion the report was accepted.

On motion the rules were suspended to hear a few words from the departing delegate A. S. Pickett, Jr., Ohio.

The report of the Hungarian S.L.F. was read by T. Vaszily. On motion the report was accepted.

The report of the South Slavonian S.L.F. was read by L. Petrovich. On motion the report was accepted.

On motion the rules were suspended in order to extend the time of adjournment of this session until the work was completed.

The National Secretary reported that two matters in the report of the N.E.C. had not been acted upon. On motion the proposition to provide paid-up membership cards for life to incapacitated aged members was referred to the Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto. On motion the matter of preparing a statement on the proper handling and accounting for Collection Lists, was referred to the N.E.C.

On motion the Committee on Constitution, etc., was excused to prepare its report.

The report of the Canadian Executive Committee was read by H. Risley, fraternal delegate from Canada. On motion the report was accepted.

Reports of Delegates:

H. Steiner for California.

At this point the Committee on Constitution, etc., submitted its supplementary report, and recommended non-concurrence in the matter referred by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee to the Convention of granting paid-up life membership cards to incapacitated aged members. The committee further recommended that the following be added to Article II, Section 26, fifth line, following the word "them":

"Members not able to make the request in person due to illness or age may be granted exemption stamps upon the Section being informed of the conditions of such members."

On motion the recommendations of the committee were concurred in.

Reports of delegates continued:

J. C. Borden, Jr., for Connecticut; L. Stein, for Washington, D.C.; F. Schnur, for Illinois; W. Jerominski, for Indiana; F.N.H. Lang, for Maryland; J. W. Aiken, for Massachusetts; J. Sim, for Michigan; S. Johnson, for Minnesota; W. W. Cox, for Missouri; G. Bopp, for New Jersey; E. F. Teichert, for New York; L. Gillespie, for Ohio; C. H. Svenson, for Oregon; E. A. Teichert, for Pennsylvania; Henry Gusey, for Washington; S. Rack, for Wisconsin.

The following delegates requested that they be excused for the remainder of the session: J. P. Quinn, Massachusetts; H. C. Risley, Canadian fraternal delegate; W. Jerominski, Indiana. On motion requests granted.

Recess was declared at 7.45 p.m. for one hour for the preparation of the minutes.

Convention called to order at 8.50 p.m.

The minutes of the Tuesday,

April 30, sessions were read and adopted as corrected.

The minutes of the 20th National Convention were adopted as a whole.

On motion a vote of thanks was extended to Comrade F. G. Bennick, Baltimore, Md., for his splendid work and cooperation at the Convention.

Chairman Pirincin called for a collection for the benefit of the WEEKLY PEOPLE which brought \$18.31.

The National Secretary was called upon to say a few words and was handed the gavel to formally close the Convention.

The Convention adjourned at 9.15 p.m., *sine die*.

Fraternally submitted,
Aaron M. Orange,
Recording Secretary.
Sophie Blume,
Assistant Recording Secretary.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

Mileage Committee,
National Convention, 1940.

It has come to the knowledge of the National Convention Mileage Committee that an error was made in recording the final total paid to delegates out of the Mileage Fund, and the following statement is made in order to keep the record clear:

The National Secretary had advanced to the two delegates from the State of Washington, Comrades J. C. Allen and Henry Gusey, \$75 each, to enable them to reach the Convention city. It was understood that the two delegates from Washington would settle their account with the Mileage Committee and collect whatever balance might be due them to enable them to return to their own state. On the basis of

their mileage expense, the two comrades were entitled to \$25 each in addition to the \$75 each already advanced, or a total amount in mileage of \$100 each was due them.

However, in presenting their claim for mileage to the Mileage Committee, they momentarily forgot that they needed mileage money in order to return to Washington, and therefore only presented a claim for \$50 each, which paid mileage one way. And each having received \$75, they entered this amount on their report, presenting, then, in fact, a statement which showed that they had been overpaid \$25 each. Subsequently the two comrades realized their mistake and presented an additional claim for \$25 each due them, in order to make up the total of \$50 each needed in order to get back to Washington.

The Mileage Committee O.K.'d the additional claim for \$25 each, but in so doing omitted to mention for the record that the \$25 each previously overpaid (on the basis of their erroneous report previously submitted) was then, in fact, not overpaid, but should be recorded as

part of the additional amount of \$50 each to which they were entitled for their fare back, or a total of \$100 for both of them in mileage in addition to the \$100 previously reported. In short, the two comrades were entitled to \$100 each in mileage, and received that amount, but since the Mileage Committee had only reported a total of \$150 to be paid the two comrades, the total amount of mileage paid to the delegates as reported by the Mileage Committee to the Convention should have been \$1,391.23, instead of \$1,341.23.

(Signed)

F. Zermann,
T. Gramaticoff,
W. Woodhouse,

Mileage Committee,
National Convention 1940

May 20, 1940.

[Note: For the sake of the record, and in order to present an accurate account of the National Convention Mileage Fund, the above statement, signed by the Convention Mileage Committee, is appended to these Minutes.

Arnold Petersen.]

Address of National Secretary Arnold Petersen Upon Opening the 20th National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party.

The convention about to assemble is the twentieth of National Conventions held by the Socialist Labor Party and its immediate forerunner, the Socialistic Labor Party. The first convention held in 1877 in Newark, N.J., was perhaps as much in response to influence from abroad, as from the increasingly degrading conditions imposed upon the wage

workers in this country. Yet, however pitiful was the plight of the wage workers in 1877 in America, the fact remains that they still constituted the minority, and there was still an outlet to the West, however fast the frontier was vanishing. The country was still far from developed; there were still vast land areas available on pioneer terms, still

extensive timberlands, still unconquered heights and unexplored depths. And the capitalist world at large was still primitive as measured by present standards.

How stand matters today? Can the fiercely exploited and therefore discontented wage slave desert the industrial centers at his pleasure, and stake out land or go adventuring in the primeval forest, or go to dwell on the lonely mountainsides? No, he cannot. And the reason is that the primitive capitalism, which fitted so well into the scheme of things of our fathers, is no more—it is gone forever. That primitive, almost idyllic, capitalism has grown big, and in growing big grew complex, and has now at last arrived at the stage where it is incapable of growth at all, having at the same time appropriated for exclusive purposes all that fifty or seventy-five years ago was still in considerable measure available for general use, and for the private development of individual American citizens and enterprising immigrants.

Speaking in the somewhat quaint language of our fathers, we may say that the capitalist class was made the steward of this beautiful land which we call America. Every smiling valley, every beckoning mountainside, every flowing river and the broad fertile plains, the natural wealth above it and underneath it, were eventually rendered available to the practically exclusive use of the capitalist class, the ruling class, of the United States, and that capitalist class did indeed appropriate it—it *did*, in fact, misappropriate it. And what *did* the capitalists do with this precious heritage?

Well, to give the devil his due,

let us say first that the capitalist class developed or, rather, through a ruthless driving of labor, *caused* to be developed, the natural resources of the country; in the same manner it developed the marvelous technology of the country with the result that finally we now have what we call mass production, the capitalist class thereby having performed the only useful function that an otherwise useless class can render to society and social evolution. But at what a terrific cost to labor and the natural wealth of the country it rendered that service — and never knowing, of course, that it *was*, nor intending that it *should* be, a service!

The Marxian Socialist Labor Party presents an indictment of the capitalist class for the manner in which it has discharged its stewardship of this country and its resources—this country which, at the time of our fathers, was a veritable Eden. But we shall not present that indictment here in our own words. We shall, instead, place on the witness stand one whose talents and services are dedicated to the proposition that this rotten and anti-social system of capitalism is good, and that it should be preserved. I give you Dorothy Thompson, famous columnist, supposedly addressing 7,000,000 Americans three times a week through her syndicated column. Two or three years ago, Miss Thompson, in one of her unpredictable fits, or perhaps inspired moments, said:

"For years we have chanted in a kind of monotonous unison: We are the richest country on earth; we are the country with the highest standard of living on earth; we have the highest wages, the most automobiles,

radios, luxuries.

"It has never been true, or it has been true only with very great qualifications. In 1929 we had a national income of over ninety billions—the largest per capita income of any country in the world at any time in history. But it was not per capita. Twenty-six thousand families had as much income as twelve million other families. A fifth of all families in the United States had incomes of under \$1,000 a year. More than 42 per cent of all families had incomes under \$1,500 a year; 71 per cent had incomes under \$2,500. And only 2 per cent of all families had incomes of \$10,000 or over.

"Nor is that all. From the viewpoint of security against illness, old age, unemployment, ours was one of the worst protected populations on earth. Out of these incomes families were expected to provide against all hazards. There was insecurity in employment. The fear of the boss, the fear of losing one's job, was a constant threat over millions of homes. Every instrument of advertising and propaganda was used to tempt the poor into expenditures which they could not afford, and the whole nation lived on futures, mortgaging tomorrow's wages for today's automobile or radio, and the feverish turnover of goods was called prosperity....

"We are, indeed, the richest country on earth, largely because we inherited the greatest gold mine on earth. But no one can travel from one end of this country to the other, as I have done in the last seven years, sitting in an Arkansas sharecropper's cabin, blowing the dust out of one's nose in Oklahoma, drinking with automobile workers in a resort

in River Rouge, visiting Vermont hill-billies — and Tennessee hill-billies—attending political conventions, investigating from San Francisco to New York cases of people on relief, without feeling that we need not be very deeply proud of what we have accomplished. We have accomplished a great deal. We have opened up a continent in a truly grandiose fashion. We have industries which are the marvel of the world. We have built the greatest roads since the Romans. But along with an extraordinary development has gone a wholesale plunder. We have built boom cities which stand today decaying hideously. Our fine cities are disfigured by dark, unhealthy, crime-breeding slums. We have stripped off the grasses of the plains and the forests of the hills, to become the prey of wind-storms and of floods.

"By and large we have been a nation of speculators, and the successful speculators call themselves conservatives and the unsuccessful call themselves liberals. We have more crime per capita than any country of the western world. Our political life lacks both competence and virtue."

It would be difficult to improve on this indictment of the capitalist class and capitalism in the United States, and I shall not attempt it at this time. We accept Miss Thompson's indictment as true as far as it goes, though it does not go far enough. And we add that, while capitalism lasts, these conditions are *bound* to get worse—there is no escape from it.

The war that is raging in Europe is the latest and, *we* believe, the crowning infamy of a social system

which has grown worse than insane, and which should be thrown on history's scrapheap as the criminally useless and harmful thing it is. And it is the business of this convention to consider anew the ways and means of putting capitalism out of business forever. And in this respect this Socialist Labor Party convention is unique. All other political conventions that have been, or will be, held, planned, or will plan, programs designed to make it possible for the capitalist system to function a little while longer, if only to make conditions somewhat bearable for its victims. The Socialist Labor Party says that capitalism *cannot* be made to function for socially useful purposes—that it *cannot* even be made to serve the primitive purposes of the times of our fathers. We charge that every move the politicians make, be it for their own or their masters' socially criminal purposes, or be it for the purpose of deluding the wage workers with a sense of security and contentment—deceptive and fraudulent as these moves are and necessarily must be—whatever the ultimate motives of the politicians and their capitalist masters may be, we charge that they will plunge the country and the workers into ever greater depths of misery and degradation. Seven years of New Deal reformism—seven years of desperate efforts to save and rehabilitate the capitalist system, should prove this, if nothing else could.

And so we say that capitalism is damaged beyond mending, and that what cannot be mended must be ended. The world over capitalism is in the same condition, and the proof is the war and anarchy prevailing in the most powerful countries of the

world today. And by the inexorable laws of capitalism, even in its senility and decay—aye, even more so!—this country is now being threatened with the same fate which has fallen upon the European nations. Our ruling class will soon find it impossible to distinguish between their private property interests and the general interests of the vast majority of the people of this country, assuming that they are ever able to do so. And thus the country is brought to the brink of war, with the pressure constantly increasing. But we of the Socialist Labor Party declare that the working class of America has no interest whatever in defending the interests of the capitalist class in this or any other country. And in behalf of the working class of America we say:

You and we have no interest in giving our lives, or the lives of our sons, husbands and fathers, in order that this strip of land, that stream of ancient water, shall belong to, or be reserved for, this or that syndicate of national or international capitalist interests. Capitalism, whether it be the Nazi-Fascist brand, or the so-called capitalist democratic variety, is a monstrous crime. To defend it, in whatever form it manifests itself, is not only to defend the cause of wars, but it is to defend the very chains of slavery that we wear. It makes no material difference to us workers whether we are being robbed and exploited as "democratic" wage slaves, or as Nazi-Fascist wage slaves. Wage slaves we are, and wage slaves we remain, while capitalism, in whatever form, prevails.

And so we, the true spokesmen of the workers of America, we who alone represent their real interests,

have come together on this day, to take counsel together, to plan together, and to project a program that shall truly be in response to the need of the times—the only program that will work, the only program that will bring about the release of the workers from wage slavery, the only program that can and *will* bring peace, order and plenty to a world completely out of joint. All else is bound to fail, whatever it be. Our forefathers, once they knew that the British Crown neither could nor would bring relief, contentment and a satisfactory solution to the problems confronting them and their generation, did not ask for relief from the British Crown on this or that particular evil resulting from British rule, they did not adopt a Declaration of Independence with a string of immediate demands. Neither do we. They did not waste their time and energies devising ways and means by which the British colonial system might be made to work better or more justly. They knew that the basically unjust British rule could never be made to render justice to them and their claims. And so, in effect, they thundered: British rule in America must be destroyed. And for the same reasons we of the Socialist Labor Party today thunder: *Capitalism must be destroyed!*

Comrade delegates: A grave responsibility rests upon you. The work you do here, however it may be ignored by the powers that be, will constitute the only challenge that will be made this campaign to capitalism, the root cause of all our present-day evils, of whatever kind. It will be a challenge that will go ringing down the corridors of time, the challenge to the capitalist class and the demand to surrender their stewardship, a declaration that the capitalist class and the capitalist system are bankrupt, that they must give way to the program and the social system which evolution has marked as the logical successor of capitalism, Socialism, and which the Socialist Labor Party solely represents in this country. And in the name of Socialism, and in behalf of the American working class, we proclaim:

All power to the Socialist Industrial Union!

The workshops and all their appurtenances to the workers!

With these concluding words I now, in behalf of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, call this, the Twentieth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party to order.

THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE CONVENTION.

Comrades:
Greetings—

Introduction.

This convention now in session is the thirteenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party in its fifty years of independent existence as a revolutionary Socialist organization, dedicated to the principles of Marxism and the policies and definite program of what we proudly call De Leonism. We call the convention of 1940 the 20th National Convention for the reason that when the 1893 Convention met in Chicago it called itself the 8th Convention, the 7th having been the 1889 Convention, which also met at Chicago, and which, of course, followed the preceding six conventions of the old Socialistic Labor Party. In checking up on this matter, it is discovered that there was no convention held in 1892, but that instead a conference took place in New York City, on August 28, 1892, which nominated a Presidential ticket, the candidates nominated being Simon Wing and Charles Matchett for President and Vice-President, respectively. In this connection the following is quoted from THE PEOPLE of September 4, 1892:

"....Last Sunday delegates from State Committees of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, met at the Labor Lyceum in this city [New York] for the purpose of determining whether or not the S.L.P. of

these States should put in nomination a presidential ticket, and in case they decided to do so to make the nominations."

While, then, this conference was not a formal national convention of the S.L.P., it, in effect, constituted a nominating convention, and the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates were the first to be nominated on a Socialist ticket in the United States on that occasion. The next convention of the Party to be held in a Presidential year was that of 1896 in New York City, where the momentous decision was taken to endorse the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, thereby flinging the challenge to labor-fakerdom, and bourgeois reform "socialism," which was to result in the split three years later.

For the record there is appended hereto a complete list of the twenty conventions (including the present one) held during the combined existences of the Socialistic Labor Party and the Socialist Labor Party, since 1877:

National Conventions.

- First, 1877, Newark
- Second, 1879, Allegheny City
- Third, 1881, New York
- Fourth, 1883, Baltimore
- Fifth, 1885, Cincinnati
- Sixth, 1887, Buffalo
- Seventh, 1889, Chicago
- Eighth, 1893, Chicago
- Ninth, 1896, New York
- Tenth, 1900, New York
- Eleventh, 1904, New York

- Twelfth, 1908, New York
- Thirteenth, 1912, New York
- Fourteenth, 1916, New York
- Fifteenth, 1920, New York
- Sixteenth, 1924, New York
- Seventeenth, 1928, New York
- Eighteenth, 1932, New York
- Nineteenth, 1936, New York
- Twentieth, 1940, New York

It has been the privilege of your present National Secretary to represent the N.E.C. at seven of the thirteen quadrennial De Leonist conventions since 1890.

Looking back at these conventions in retrospect, and without in the least belittling the importance of any of them—either in relation to the labor movement as a whole, or in relation to the world of capitalism generally—it is no exaggeration to say that this Twentieth Convention takes on a significance unparalleled in a long series of history-making conventions. Certainly, never before has the Party met in a setting more dramatic, nor one fraught with greater danger, and yet, at the same time, instinct with greater promise for the working class, than at this historic moment. It is a solemn and grave occasion, sobering and thought-provoking, an occasion that brings to us a full realization of our responsibility to the proletariat and the revolutionary movement of labor. Though at the moment few workers pay heed to our words, what we say here, and what we do here, will undoubtedly nonetheless have a far-reaching effect eventually. For at this moment, more so than ever in the past, the workers of the world are groping for light—straining eyes and ears for the sign and the word that shall at last set them on the

right course to bring them to their historic goal, the Brotherhood of Man, Socialism.

The breaking up of capitalist society, and the consequent chaos and disorder, naturally also has resulted in confusion among those to whom the Socialist movement was either a plaything, something to fill the empty lives of idle bourgeois playboys, or a means to fill the empty pockets of the adventurers and charlatans who are always attracted by the revolutionary movements. These playboys and adventurers, having simply learned their would-be Marxism by rote, as it were, and having failed generally to penetrate beneath the surface of words and phrases (either because they had no real interest in the subject, or because for material or intellectual reasons they were unable to do so), the playboys and adventurers are finding themselves set adrift on the stormy sea of capitalist disintegration. The recent Stalinist corrupt opportunism and betrayal increased the pressure on the playboys and the adventurers—the former suddenly felt terribly disillusioned and frightened, while the latter no longer saw profit in playing the game of revolution—and so in droves they are discovering that Marx was all wrong, or that Socialism really is just another word for what so glibly they call totalitarianism.

And so, once again poor Marx has to be "revised" or "reconsidered," as he has been "revised" or "reconsidered" periodically during the nearly sixty years that have passed since he died. The class struggle is found to be a fallacy; we must have a "People's 'Socialism'" instead of the working class Socialism of Marx and

Engels; the petty farmers and corner grocers must be given a chance to survive in a capitalist world that is more and more reaching the point where even capitalist titans cannot survive in the fierce struggle with the super-titans of finance and industry, and the conditions that produced these. These dandies and these adventurers who have played at revolution for so many years, now suddenly discover that the old, discredited utopian schemes and notions constitute the very latest in realistic thinking!

One of the outstanding liberals who has for years flirted with Marxism, has, for example, hit upon the bright idea that capitalism may yet be saved through solving the housing shortage. Under the heading "Hope for Capitalism: Housing Offers Chance," this worthy rhapsodizes about the marvelous possibilities that lie in a huge building program, geared—not to the needs of the profit system of capitalism, but to the needs of the houseless victims of capitalism! Capitalism is expected to lift itself by its own bootstraps! What Frederick Engels wrote nearly seventy years ago in devastating refutation of the claims made for the Housing Question by the petty bourgeois "Socialists" of the day, remains a sealed book to these latter-day utopians and fatuous reformers. The "revisers" and "amenders" of Marx are feverishly dusting off these old, discredited remedies, and the thousand and one other reform schemes of a similar nature, originating in an era forever gone by.

But as to the playboys and amenders of Marx, shrinking back from the stark realism of the fierce class

struggle, intensified as it is through collapsing international capitalism, they grasp for straws and, having collected enough straws, they thereupon fashion those straw men which they now proceed to knock down in the fond belief, or with the fraudulent claim, that they are demolishing Marx and Marxism. Thus these petty bourgeois reformers and adventurers, like the strayed chickens, finally have come home to roost. We may soon witness the absorption of this gentry into the out-and-out capitalist groups and, since the communist swindlers are thoroughly alien—alien in thought and allegiance, alien to Marxism and common honesty alike—the field is rapidly being cleared for the genuine Marxist Socialist Labor Party. That this climax and conjunction of events should have occurred in this very Golden Jubilee year of the fighting S.L.P. is a startling coincidence which we may accept as a happy omen. It has long been a case of the S.L.P. against the field, the "field," however, having had the appearance of being at war with itself. It will continue to be the S.L.P. against the field, but a "field" that more and more is taking on the real characteristic of common bourgeois fellowship. May we retain strength and wisdom, and sufficiently increase our material forces, to take the fullest advantage of this most promising situation.

The playboys and dilettante "revolutionists" are not alone in discovering once more "defects" in Marx and Marxism, or in the soundly grounded contentions of scientific Socialism with respect to such questions as the displacement of labor by machinery, the extent of unemployment, the de-

gree of exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class, etc., etc. Realizing the revolutionary implications of admitting that improved machinery displaces labor, and constantly augments the ranks of the unemployed, the plutocratic apologists brazenly deny that the machine displaces labor. Yet, they will admit that machine production cheapens the cost of production. But since that in the long run means that less socially necessary labor is required, they do, in fact, admit the Marxist contention that the introduction of improved machinery obviously displaces labor—in any case, one would think, a common-sense proposition!

But if, for the sake of argument, we assume for a moment that the capitalist apologists are right, that machinery does not displace labor, what an indictment this would be of man's saneness and of his ability properly to apply common-sense principles and the lessons of everyday observations. The capitalist apologists insist that if labor is displaced in one industry by new machinery, as much, or even more, labor is reemployed in making the new machines! This is a contention forged in Bedlam! It is as if one were to say that the less effort a person is expending, the more he works! What, in effect, these absurd apologists are saying is that production is a series of independent, unrelated processes! It is to argue that there is no integration in production, no interdependence. In short, it is to assert that production consists of so many isolated activities, instead of being a *social* process. As a social process, production is conceived as a series of closely

related acts each of which springs from, as it leads to, every other productive act, with no visible lines of demarcation, but with overlapping lines, and integrations everywhere. So conceived, the process of social production is translatable into terms of so many socially necessary labor hours. At a given time so and so many billions of labor hours are required to produce a certain sum total of productive results. Simplifying the process at any one point obviously reduces the required sum total of labor hours by so and so many thousands per day plus such and such a smaller number of hours required to produce the new machines. But it is perfectly obvious that the total number of labor hours saved must greatly exceed the incidental extra labor hours required to produce the new machines. What is true at one point is true at all points, in varying degrees, of course, and the labor hours "saved" multiplied thousands of times obviously constitute a tremendous total of social labor hours rendered superfluous, and since labor hours have no independent existence, but are merely the measures of socially necessary labor—that is, socially necessary exertion by the workers—it follows that labor hours rendered superfluous mean labor rendered superfluous. Q.E.D.!

It all sounds so silly that adults have to refute such infantile arguments as those advanced by the fatuous, and no doubt desperate, defenders of the capitalist system. But these stupid contentions are, as we know, actually advanced by the professorial and journalistic pundits of capitalism, with grave and solemn airs, as if the profoundest wisdom were uttered, rather, than the most

vulgar drivél conceivable. It is true, of course, in an entirely different sense, that all the inventions made have not lightened the toil of those who actually do the world's work, but that has nothing to do with the question of machinery displacing labor. It has to do with the insane arrangement called capitalism where the rule holds good that the harder a man works, other things being equal, the sooner he works himself out of a job. The productivity of labor being in inverse ratio to the value of labor power, it also follows that the more labor is displaced by machines (that is, the more productive labor becomes), the lower is the value of the labor power employed, apart from the fact of an ever increasing army of unemployed, displaced by the machines.

Finally, our capitalist apologists might remind themselves of the old saying that the proof of the pudding is in the eating, that is, there is the indisputable fact of a large army of unemployed, constantly increasing despite occasional fluctuations. However ignorant these apologists may be, they must know that involuntary unemployment is a phenomenon peculiar to the industrial or machine age. Unemployment (other than that of the chronically lazy at the top and bottom of the social scale) is as unknown in the pre-capitalist era as it is a regular feature of the capitalist era. And the more primitive capitalism is, the fewer the number of unemployed. While, conversely, the more highly developed capitalism is, the larger the number of unemployed. It was John Stuart Mill who observed that "it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the

day's toil of any human being." We agree with Mill, and we subscribe to his further pronouncement that "Only when, in addition to just institutions, the increase of mankind shall be under the deliberate guidance of judicious foresight, can the conquests from the powers of nature by the intellect and energy of scientific discoverers, become the common property of the species, and the means of improving and elevating the universal lot."

Lately, other plutocratic apologists have also suddenly discovered that we really have no unemployment problem, that labor, as well as capitalism as a whole, is actually better off, than in the year of the big crash, 1929! As related by Comrade Pirincin, a plutocratic apologist, with whom he recently debated in Ohio, has contended that the workers receive practically all that they produce, and even at one period, *more than they produced!* To say that anyone so arguing is a hired tool, or a dishonest person, or just an idiot, hardly satisfies. It is clear, however, that in the case of such pleaders we are confronted with that class blindness which so readily afflicts plutocrat and servitor alike, whenever the property and class rule nerve is touched. Instinctively they smell a Marxian implication in every solid economic fact revealed and logically applied, and instinctively they fly to an attack on the implication, or on its translation into Marxian contention!

Meanwhile, our Party is facing grave obstacles, and with all the promises of the present development we also face the dangers of serious crises, some of which will be touched upon in this report.

The 1936 Campaign.

The story and accomplishments of the 1936 campaign were told in considerable detail in the National Secretary's report to the N.E.C. in 1937. It was a great campaign, a campaign which (in the words of the 1937 N.E.C. report) "will linger in memory as one of the outstanding achievements of the S.L.P. in its entire history." Starting off with a collection of more than \$10,000 (which we hope to double this year) at the Convention Dinner in April, 1936, it soon got on its way, and, gaining in momentum, reached its climax in November. It was, of course, not without its disappointments, notably with respect to our failure to get on the ballot in several vital states. We must be prepared for a hard struggle in this regard this year. Twenty-seven speakers and organizers (including three assistants to as many organizers) were toured, most of them for long periods. Nearly four million leaflets were distributed. A special campaign issue, with local state imprints, was printed in a total quantity of 90,000 copies. The vote was not what it could have been if the politicians had not tricked us off the ballot in several states (Indiana, New York, Ohio). We succeeded in getting on the ballot in these states: Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin. The National Campaign Fund reached the unprecedented total of nearly \$40,000.

All in all a glorious campaign, which we hope to improve upon this

year. With events moving with lightning rapidity, who knows if 1944 will furnish an opportunity for another campaign? All the more reason for making the most of the present opportunity.

Organizers on the Road.

Many organizers have been toured every year since the last campaign. Our veteran national organizer, Comrade Quinn, has been incessantly "on the go," barring his annual rest period. In recent years the indefatigable and resourceful Comrade Pirincin has been toured in the East and parts of the Middle West. These are the organizers toured since January, 1939, and the territory covered by them:

John P. Quinn.

The 1939 tour of Comrade John P. Quinn started on April 30 and took him through New England, across New York State to Toronto. Not as many stops were included on the way West as normally would have been the case, for the reason that it was desired to have Comrade Quinn spend considerable time in Minnesota, and as the season is short there, it was important for him to arrive there as early in the summer as possible. After spending a couple of weeks in Milwaukee (where an internal condition prevented his giving as much attention to agitational activities as was otherwise desired), he proceeded to Minnesota, remaining in that state from July 16 to August 30. Returning to Milwaukee, Comrade Quinn attended the South Slavonian Convention held on September 2 as fraternal delegate of the National Organization, and devoted approximately two more weeks to work in Section Milwaukee, most of

the time being taken up with attempts to straighten out the internal difficulties that had arisen there, and concerning which more will be said later in this report.

Comrade Quinn thereupon spent approximately a month in Illinois and the contiguous states of Iowa and Missouri, passing through Indiana, and arriving in Michigan where he stayed until October 31, thereafter spending about 20 days in Ohio, and arriving in Pittsburgh on November 22. There having been two Thanksgiving Days in 1939, Comrade Quinn celebrated, according to Pennsylvania style, Thanksgiving Day on November 23, and in New York City he attended the Thanksgiving Affair on November 26, and, terminating that part of his tour for the present, he celebrated Thanksgiving Day in Connecticut on November 30, thus attaining the unique distinction of enjoying three Thanksgiving celebrations! A few weeks were spent in Massachusetts and Connecticut, the tour being terminated on December 31 with meetings in Baltimore and Washington, D.C.

Plans are now being made to tour Comrade Quinn through some of the Eastern states, pending coordinating his tour with the general plans of the National Campaign.

Joseph Pirincin.

Comrade Pirincin started his 1939 tour on January 3 and has continued uninterruptedly on the road to the present date. The territory covered by Comrade Pirincin is not so extensive as that of Comrade Quinn, although his trip to Missouri brought him a considerable distance out of the area that originally had been

contemplated as his territory.

For the month of January Comrade Pirincin covered a weekly circuit of 6 or 7 cities in Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio. From February 2 to July 4 he was stationed in the state of New Jersey, including a weekly visit to Philadelphia to conduct a study class. There was an interruption in this itinerary of about two weeks when Comrade Pirincin attended the Pennsylvania and Ohio state conventions, representing the National Organization. During Comrade Pirincin's stay in New Jersey the organization took a big step forward in that a Section was organized in south New Jersey, Section Cumberland County, and Sections Passaic County and Hudson County were virtually reorganized. Quite a number of young, active and capable members were added to these Sections during this period. In addition to conducting study classes, holding meetings, etc., Comrade Pirincin also assisted the Sections materially in organizing their system of conducting correspondence, keeping records, etc., etc. The work done by Comrade Pirincin is today reflected in the fine state organization that we now have in New Jersey, a state organization which bids fair to take its place in the front ranks of S.L.P. state organizations in point of compactness of organization, efficiency, resourcefulness and general all-round activities for the Party.

Two weeks were spent in Baltimore, where more time should have been devoted, but unfortunately previous arrangements, and the need of having Comrade Pirincin go to the Middle West, did not make that possible. From July 30 to September

15 Comrade Pirincin spent in the Missouri and Southern Illinois territory, doing splendid spade-work, but unfortunately here, too, the time grew too late for him to capitalize fully on the preliminary work done. It is planned to return him to that territory during this year, other things being equal.

Returning to Pittsburgh on September 28, Comrade Pirincin commenced a study class, lecture, and weekly radio broadcast circuit, which included the states of Pennsylvania and Ohio. This circuit was terminated on February 23 this year. There were interruptions in this tour necessitated by his having to attend various functions and activities in nearby states, including the famous "Wake Up, America!" debate which he had with a capitalist representative in Cleveland and Youngstown in February and March of this year. Since February 26 Comrade Pirincin has been engaged in signature-gathering in Pennsylvania, which at this writing has not yet been terminated.

An important feature of Comrade Pirincin's activities (apart from conducting study classes and delivering lectures) has been that of delivering weekly radio talks over Station WWVA, the series over Station WTMV in East St. Louis (Greater St. Louis area), and occasional radio talks in other places. This particular feature, however, will be dealt with under a separate head.

All in all, it has been a strenuous year for Comrade Pirincin, in a densely populated area, with many special problems presenting themselves that are not so likely to appear in an itinerary spread over a larger area, and with less jumping around from place to place. It is a

pleasure to be able to say that Comrade Pirincin's energy and general resourcefulness enabled him to measure up to the many demands placed upon him during this period.

George E. Bopp.

Comrade George E. Bopp was on the road during the summer and fall of 1939, having been toured by the Illinois S.E.C. from June 12 to July 23, with a few visits to Iowa. Having agreed to work under the direction of the New York S.E.C. beginning July 31, an intermediary tour under the direction of the National Office was arranged from July 23 to 30, taking him through Indiana, etc., arriving in Buffalo at the time agreed upon. He remained in the employ of the New York S.E.C. until September 30, arriving in New York City where the three Sections in Greater New York arranged with him to deliver outdoor talks from October 17 to 31. From November 15 to the end of the year he was toured in New Jersey, under the auspices of the New Jersey S.E.C.

While in Chicago Comrade Bopp made occasional visits to Milwaukee, with a view of aiding in establishing order in that Section. This, too, will be dealt with under a separate head.

Aaron M. Orange.

Comrade Aaron M. Orange was toured under the auspices of the New York S.E.C. in Western New York from July 5 to July 29, and in Central and Eastern New York from July 31 to August 12.

Mack Johnson.

On the Pacific Coast Comrade Mack Johnson was employed for a period, part-time, under the auspices of Section Los Angeles from March

12 to the middle of May, 1939. For financial reasons it was not possible to continue him during the summer, but beginning September 6 he was engaged by the California S.E.C. to work in the Bay Area, and terminating his work there on September 25, he proceeded under the auspices of the National Office to the states of Oregon and Washington, which he toured until December 29. An informal visit was paid Vancouver, B.C., during this latter period. Returning to California, Comrade Johnson continued working part-time under the auspices of Section Los Angeles, terminating this work recently.

Carl Vetter.

The California S.E.C. also toured Comrade Carl Vetter in the Bay Area and Northern California (on a four-day-week basis) from October 1 until about December 15.

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It would, of course, have been very desirable if more organizers could have been toured, but, unfortunately, funds did not permit it. The National Organizer Fund had been completely exhausted, but the National Organizer Fund "Voluntary Assessment" aided in replenishing the National Organizer Fund which, together with the \$2,000 transferred from the Estates Funds, and \$1,000 from the National Secretary 25th Anniversary Fund, enabled us to carry on the work of the two national organizers, and such incidental work by the other organizers as just related. It is feared that we may be faced with the problem this campaign of securing new national organizers. So far there are indications that some of those whom we had counted upon for national campaign tours may not be available,

but, of course, every effort is now being made to secure as large a staff of organizers as possible.

Comrades John P. Quinn and Joseph Pirincin (who, as will be noted, have been steadily on the road during 1939, and, in the case of Pirincin, up to the present time) have submitted reports covering their activities, experiences and impressions. That of Comrade Quinn follows:

"Dear Comrade Petersen:

"I believe that at no time since the advent of the New Deal has the Party's message received as much favorable attention as it did during the past year. That has been notably true where open-air meetings were held. And it probably has been equally so, though obviously not so evident, where Party leaflets were distributed. With few exceptions, open-air meetings have attracted an increased number of listeners, many of whom seemed to display an unusual amount of interest in our discussion of the labor question.

"Here and there hall meetings were somewhat better attended by outsiders. However, in this connection, there is nothing much of a definite improvement to be mentioned. There are some towns where, I believe, every proper method of advertising hall lectures, at one time or another, has been tried. The result is often the same—little, if any, improvement. It cannot be said that small attendance is due to lack of workers' interest. For many workers who cannot be dragged into hall lectures will and do stand on hard sidewalks listening, if they happen to be in the vicinity of our open-air meeting and hear the speaker's voice. Many such workers, too, will read

our literature if put in their hands, and sympathetically discuss the Party's program with its supporters. The infrequent attendance at, or absence from, our hall meetings is undoubtedly due to the great number of counter-attractions and possibly, to some extent, to a feeling that not much just now can be gained by attending Socialist meetings.

"Several years ago mounting discontent of workers turned in the direction of the C.I.O. The C.I.O. was one of these counter-attractions and, of course, workers hoped it would relieve their needs. Great numbers of workers, including some who were beginning to take some interest in the S.L.P. program, turned to the C.I.O. as the organization best able to improve their lot. Such workers gave it enthusiastic support, expecting great things in return. When anyone criticized the C.I.O., as did the S.L.P., he was looked upon with suspicion and frequently encountered much opposition. The S.L.P. continued to expose the C.I.O. as being an organization with the potentialities for reaction, and, moreover, as one no better able to improve conditions of workers than can any other pure and simple labor union. Now workers, having made their experiences, are beginning to see the matter in a different light. Consequently, the C.I.O. no longer invokes the wild enthusiasm of a few years ago, and the criticism directed by the S.L.P. at its capitalist character no longer arouses such bitter feelings as formerly. In view of the constant speed-up in industry, the sagging annual income of workers (despite possible hourly increases of wages), the effectiveness of the C.I.O., and of the sitdown strike, is be-

ing seriously questioned by many workers. A growing realization of the shortcomings of this and similar groups is making more workers receptive to the S.L.P. message. The prestige of these organizations, endeavoring to satisfy workers' needs under capitalism and thus helping to prevent social revolution, is not so great as formerly. Because of this, as well as a general disillusionment of workers slowly going on, and despite the feature of hall meetings alluded to above, the Party's message was received more warmly by a greater number of workers.

"Such conditions, too, have made it possible, and desirably effective, to distribute the tremendous number of leaflets that the Party gave out. The leaflets continue the Party's work in the home. And as Wendell Phillips, himself a great propagandist, once said: 'This is a reading and thinking age, and great interests at stake quicken the general intellect. Whenever you have a reading people, there every tongue, every press, is a power.' S.L.P. leaflets are the silent educators of thinking workers, they enliven their intellects, fortify their tongues. They are a power to be reckoned with. For they are a means that in the fulness of time will help develop the workers' classconsciousness, freighted with knowledge and steeled with a determination to achieve the collective ownership of industry.

"Communist party disturbances, that for a number of years were forced on the S.L.P. at its meetings during several years, gradually died out, and have now completely vanished. The slummist character of capitalism's 'red' collaborator's pother took the form of booing, shouting,

name-calling, milling around in our meetings, frequently going to the length of placing a speaker's stand beside our own and having one of their spouters mount it for the purpose of talking at our audience. All the time, of course, our own speaker was trying to maintain order and hold the attention of our audience. Communists tried desperately by such means to capture our meeting. Naturally such methods would defeat their own ends. And that is what happened, for the S.L.P. hammered Communist interference to pieces. Discredited and defeated, they abandoned such methods. Reminiscent of this, and significant as well, is the incident recalled by a lady, former member of the Communist party, who one night in Milwaukee approached me after I had left the platform at a street meeting. 'Do you remember me?' she asked. Informing her that I didn't, she continued: 'Well, over five years ago my husband and I heckled you, and, with some other Communist, tried to break up your meeting in Syracuse, New York. We were then members of the Communist party. Don't you remember that?' 'No,' I said, 'that is a long time ago, and I endured so many such attempts on the part of Communists in different parts of the country, that I'm unable to recall the one that you were engaged in.' 'Well, we are not Communists any more,' she concluded, 'we found out what the Communist party is. We have had enough of them.'

"Hitler Storm Troop methods didn't exactly work out to the benefit of the Communists. Like so many more of their abandoned practices, this one, too, has 'gone with the wind.' Paraphrasing one of Omar

Khayyam's sayings, it may be said that:

Communists, who snatched the
tent ropes of science,
Have fallen into grief's furnace
and been suddenly burned,
'The shears of Fate have cut the
tent ropes of their life;
'And the Broker of Hope has sold
them for nothing.

"However, with the Communist bedlam having disappeared from our meetings, the same determination to prevent the S.L.P. program from reaching the working class is manifested from another quarter. It is a familiar one, but becoming more active, vocal and vociferous than ever. It is the Ultramontane element of the Catholic Church. During the past year, in various parts of the country, I encountered some of its hostile attitude. The Ultramontanes know that capitalism is rapidly going down, that it will never recover. They realize, too, that the working class will discover it, and that, sooner or later, it will come into contact with the S.L.P. They are in great fear of that. They would like capitalism, brutal exploiter of labor, to continue; but they fear that Socialism, the approaching emancipator of the working class, will take its place. So through their various auxiliaries—and they have as many front organizations and fellow travelers as the Communists—they advance their own political views and poison the minds of their followers against Socialism. Hence through forums, classes, publications and radio, by speeches and sermons from pulpit and platform, they try to influence workers to think politically in the interests of the preservation of the

private ownership of the tools of production. Their activity is evidence of the tremors that, like pains shooting through a rheumatic body, are torturing the social system. The Church is as sensitive to the feverish illness of capitalism as is a rheumatic person to the variations of climate, or a seismograph to the disturbances of an approaching earthquake.

"Ultramontane political views are now in evidence during the question period at S.L.P. open-air meetings. The supporters of the Church's political views come to our meetings not to listen to our side, but to ask what they have been influenced to believe are embarrassing questions. Now, while it is nothing new for Ultramontanes to oppose Socialism, it is interesting, and significant, to note the change in the character of that opposition. In the past the Church took its stand against Socialism on the alleged grounds that it would destroy the home, Christian ethics, morality, religion and the institution of marriage, and because Socialists were 'free lovers.' These ancient lies are now so threadbare from Ultramontane use, so obviously false, and, what is of more importance, so remote from the economic problems pestering workers, that the Church would get nowhere if it were to rely entirely on mouthing that moth-eaten bunk. The Ultramontanes have had to use other weapons in an effort to discredit the movement that would place the working class in ownership of the tools of production. So their propaganda is now directed to the end of trying to make it appear that Socialism would destroy initiative, that superior ability would go unrewarded, that every one would

want to be on the top, and that Socialism would destroy democracy and establish dictatorship. Defense of Christian ethics and the faith, in these declining days of capitalism, would not in themselves fire Catholic workers to a maddening fury against Socialism. The Catholic worker cannot see how fighting for these things would improve his economic situation. He is not interested in a modern crusade for the faith, but rather in a struggle for an improvement of his bread and butter possibilities. The Ultramontanes have to talk about that problem and offer some plausible solution, dangerous though it is for them to do so, if they are going to direct workers against Socialism and make them believe that Socialism would jeopardize their interests. But since the solution of the labor question lies in Socialism, the Catholic, as well as other, workers will eventually see that and accept S.L.P. ideas. During the past year we have made considerable progress toward that day.

"Fraternally yours,
(Signed) "John P. Quinn."

Here follows Comrade Pirincin's report:

"Dear Comrade Petersen:

"Shortly before the 1939 N.E.C. Session, I submitted a summary of my activities and impressions while on the road for the Party up to that time. Since then I have continued in the capacity of national organizer without interruption, traveling more than 40,000 miles through the states of New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, New

York and West Virginia. I also visited the District of Columbia.

"It is a pleasure to report that there is a noticeable improvement in every department of our activity as well as an increasing response from those workers that we are able to contact.

"*Outdoor Meetings:* The attendance at our outdoor meetings showed a marked improvement in attendance, interest and questions asked. Even though the number of workers contributing financially has increased, the total amount of our collections has not. The ever increasing poverty of the workers is the best single explanation for the size of our collections. The individual contributions may continue to decrease, and no doubt will; we must devote ourselves to increasing the attendance at our meetings by careful planning and extensive advertising. Increased attendance will bring an increased number of contributors that will more than make up for the ever decreasing amount that each individual worker may be able to contribute.

"To the credit of our Sections generally, it must be recorded that outdoor meetings are more carefully arranged than in the past. I have also noticed that our meeting places are more desirable than has been the case in the past. Rarely is a speaker called upon to speak in the slums or other such undesirable places.

"Generally speaking, we have been fairly successful in establishing our right to hold outdoor meetings in places where such right was formerly denied. In a number of cities the problem still remains unsettled. It is to be hoped that our Sections will avail themselves of holding as many

outdoor meetings as will be humanly possible during the coming national campaign. To some extent, at least, the fact of a national campaign will lessen the interference of petty officials.

"*Indoor Meetings:* Our indoor meetings have also shown improvement. I noticed this improvement on my return from the Middle West. With but a very few exceptions, our Sections are showing marked improvement in handling the arrangements for indoor meetings.

"The conspiracy of silence, long practised by the capitalist press, continues. In several instances we have succeeded in getting notices of meetings printed and in a smaller number of cases we have succeeded in getting 'write-ups' after the meetings. In Cleveland, Ohio, where I delivered a series of Sunday lectures, I prepared a newspaper release which contained some of the statements that I would make during the talk. Whether or not the accounts of our meetings were a direct result of preparing these releases, I am not prepared to say. We did, however, get favorable publicity, with direct quotations, following each meeting. I believe that it would be worth while to try this method wherever it is not used at present. The speaker is the logical person to prepare such releases. Whenever a Section arranges for a lecture and obtains a speaker, the Section should request the speaker to prepare a press release dealing with the topic on which he is going to speak.

"*Study Classes:* The outstanding results of our study classes are to be found in New Jersey where we succeeded in rebuilding the state organization through the addition of new

members to the old Sections, and the organization of a new Section in Southern New Jersey. In my summary submitted shortly before the 1939 N.E.C. Session I wrote: 'I know of no good reason why our summer activity could not produce sufficient results so that we could start a study class composed of non-members of the Party in every city where we have a Section and, in some cases, in more than one city under the jurisdiction of the same Section.' I don't believe that our Sections took full advantage of this suggestion. In too many cases our Sections relied on a penny postal card to bring prospective students to the first meeting of the study class. Letters and postal cards are all right for certain purposes; I do not believe this method to be the most effective, or even desirable, in gathering material for an S.L.P. study class. Anything short of a personal visit is insufficient when we are out to get study class material. If the interest displayed by workers when they sign our 'interested' cards is properly cultivated by personal calls, I feel certain that the results will express themselves in a larger enrollment in our study classes. It is quite safe to say that if you want to know how many new members a given Section admitted during the year, ask how many study class application blanks were signed. Every study class student is not expected immediately to join the Party, yet it cannot be denied that the greater the number of students in the class, the greater may we expect the number of applicants for membership to be.

"In addition to the regular study classes, I conducted, for a brief pe-

riod, three study classes for speakers and study class instructors. On my recent visit to Philadelphia, I was thrilled to listen to Comrade Nathan Karp deliver a lecture on 'Stalinist Imperialism.' Less than a year ago Comrade Karp attended the Jersey City study class for speakers and instructors. His lecture was a double tribute—a tribute to an organization that develops men, and a tribute to a workingman who so applied himself that in such a short time he was able to develop himself to be a credit to the S.L.P. and to do justice to the privilege of representing the Party on the platform. The Pittsburgh study class for speakers and instructors had to be cut short. I do, however, expect that the students of the Pittsburgh class will be more prepared for the coming outdoor campaign. In Cleveland we succeeded in getting a number of comrades to take the platform for the first time. If the Cleveland study class did no more than to encourage Comrade Viola Bencsics to take the stand, it would have been worth all the time and effort.

"Regardless of the number of indoor and outdoor meetings that we are now holding, I am certain that many more could be held, particularly during the summer, if we had more speakers. Not that we do not have members who understand the Party's program well enough to speak to others—we have many such members. What we do not have is members with the requisite minimum of training that would enable them to tell others what they know about the S.L.P. The answer is obvious—study classes for speakers!

"*Radio:* Our radio activities have been considerably hampered by the

N.A.B. Code. At this writing we are informed that WWVA will not renew our contract. WWVA was an excellent medium for the dissemination of our teachings and brought as many inquiries as, and possibly more than, any other station that the Party had broadcast from. Whatever the difficulties of the past year, we have reason to expect that the national campaign will make it a little easier for us to get whatever radio time we are able to pay for.

"Section Cleveland's success in getting the American Economic Foundation to include an S.L.P. speaker on two of their 'Wake Up America' radio forums proves that here and there we are able to take advantage of these radio forums. I believe that the National Office should request all Sections to report on the number and kind of radio forums conducted from radio stations within the Section's jurisdiction. The Sections should make every effort to have the Party represented on such forums.

"In addition to the radio forums, many large cities conduct one or more 'Community Forums.' These forums usually meet in the high school buildings and are attended by anywhere from 100 to 1,000 people. I believe that every Section should ascertain the number of such forums held in its city for the purpose of immediately getting in touch with those in charge and offering to send an S.L.P. speaker. The Community Forums should be contacted during the summer when the fall and winter schedules are in preparation.

*

"Whatever the extent of our work and exertion in the past, the times that we are living through require

more and more and more. We are on the 'home-stretch,' the 'last lap'! Capitalism is stark-mad of its own inherent contradictions, it is headed for destruction and threatens to carry civilization with it. Capitalism must not be permitted to destroy the achievements that have resulted from the struggle of countless generations. If these achievements are to be preserved, the capitalist system of madness must be destroyed!

"The program of the Socialist Labor Party is synonymous with the emancipation of the working class. In our WEEKLY PEOPLE, our literature, our hearts and our minds reposes this program of human emancipation. Our class needs this program if human progress is to continue. So let us increase the circulation of our WEEKLY PEOPLE, flood the nation with our free literature, carry our pamphlets to the four corners of the nation, and pour out our hearts and our minds to our fellow workers with such determination so that what today is a clear, but still weak, call, will tomorrow fall from the lips of an aroused and determined working class—the call that—

"CAPITALISM MUST BE DESTROYED!

"Fraternally submitted,

"Joseph Pirincin,

"National Organizer."

Constitutional Amendments

Under this head it is proposed that a Preamble be added to the Party Constitution. There is no reference anywhere in the Constitution which reveals the nature and purpose of the organization which the Constitu-

tion is to serve, except, of course, such as is implied in the name *Socialist Labor Party*. To remedy what is believed to be a defect, it is proposed to open the Constitution with the following *Preamble* the same to precede immediately Article I (Management):

PREAMBLE

A. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Labor Party of America.

B. Its official emblem shall be the uplifted Arm and Hammer within a circle, or in such other setting as legal or practical requirements may dictate.

C. The Socialist Labor Party declares its adherence to the basic principles of Marxism with such application of these principles as modern conditions and the political and industrial development of the United States may render proper and necessary.

D. We declare these Socialist truths to be basic, and to be held inviolate and binding upon all who profess acceptance of Marxian principles:

1. The national and international class struggle between the owning (the capitalist and imperialist) classes and the producing (exploited and propertiless) working classes is a fact the denial of which by any person, group or party *ipso facto* removes such person, group or party, whatever their Socialist pretensions, from the International Marxian Socialist Movement, and irrespective of the manner of the denial—that is, whether by denial in words, or by acts, such as, for instance, entering into alliances with imperialist and fascist

powers, especially in situations involving pending or actual war.

2. The emancipation of the working class must, and can only, be the classconscious act of the working class itself. It can no more result from the benevolent act of another class within a nation than it can be imposed by force from without upon one nation by another.

3. Recognizing that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common, and, recognizing further that there can be no peace within nations or among the nations so long as hunger and want are found among millions of workers on the one hand, and the few, the employing class, own all the good things of life, on the other hand;

Recognizing these things as basic and incontestable facts and Marxian truths, we declare that the workers must organize on the basis of these facts and truths, and form a *political union* with the revolutionary objective of capturing, through the ballot, the capitalist Political State, and dismantling it; and that they must further organize in an economic Industrial Union, equally revolutionary in objective and purpose, to take and hold that which they produce by their labor and that which represents past and accumulated as well as present social labor—the mills, mines, factories and implements of production generally, together with the land needed wherewith to carry on production for use for the benefit of all, thereby establishing the Socialist Industrial Commonwealth of Labor.

E. The Socialist Labor Party, being the true exponent of Marxian Socialism, and recognizing in Socialism the next, and higher, stage in civilization, and realizing that upon the working class there rest the duty and historic mission of terminating the age-long class struggle and, in keeping with peaceful and civilized methods, of ushering in the classless society resting on common ownership of the socially needed land and machinery of production, declares its unqualified acceptance of this principle laid down by the founder of the modern Socialist Labor Party, Daniel De Leon:

"The *bona fide* Movement of Labor may not 'adopt' the methods of the capitalist class in the class war. The Labor Movement must, on the contrary, place itself upon the highest plane civilization has reached. It must insist upon the enforcement of civilized methods, and it must do so in the way that civilized man does."

*

As an aid in carrying on its work of political and cultural education, Socialist agitation, and as a promoter of Socialist Industrial Union organization, we adopt the following rules and regulations, to be absolutely binding upon every member of the Socialist Labor Party, and to be known as the

Constitution of the Socialist Labor Party of America:

ARTICLE I. Management.

Section 1.—Etc.

The following amendments are proposed:

Article II, new Section 7:

"(a) In Sections having fifteen or more members, one-third of the membership shall constitute a quorum at all business meetings of the Section, the one-third to be computed on the basis of the membership actually residing within the limits of the area over which the Section normally exercises jurisdiction. Out-of-town members-at-large, accordingly, shall not be included in the figure upon the basis of which the required quorum attendance is computed. Where the membership is less than fifteen, the quorum shall be five members.

"(b) Where a Section, due to temporary conditions, cannot secure a quorum, such Section, for a limited period of time, may be permitted to meet and transact regular Party business with less than the required minimum of members present, subject to the specific approval of the N.E.C. or its Sub-Committee."

Present Section 7 (Article II) to become Section 8, and so forth.

Comment: It is believed that these proposed additions speak for themselves. If a Section has a large out-of-town membership, unable to attend business meetings of the Section, it is conceivable that it might become impossible to secure a large enough number of members to be present in order to constitute a quorum. This problem was created, of course, as a result of the change made at the 1936 Convention of the Party when jurisdiction over members-at-large was taken from the State Executive Committees.

It should be added that the proposed amendment is now in effect as a ruling of the N.E.C. It is felt, however, that the matter is of sufficient

importance to be covered in the Constitution.

Article II, Section 7. It is proposed to change the Order of Business as follows:

1. Reading of Minutes.
2. Financial report and report on delinquent members.
3. New Members.
4. Correspondence.
5. Report of Organizer.
6. Report of committees.
7. Party press and literature.
8. Unfinished business.
9. Roll Call.
10. New Business.

Comment: By placing the "standing of members" practically at the end of the Order of Business, members actually suspended, and therefore deprived of all membership rights, may vote on important Party matters, before the "Roll Call and Standing of Members" item may be reached. This is clearly wrong. By placing the report on membership delinquency immediately after the reading of minutes, this possibility is prevented. It has been argued that members in arrears might arrive after this item on the Order of Business, which would prevent them from placing themselves in good standing so as to enable them to vote on questions before the Section. The answer to that should be that the Party should not go out of its way to encourage the habits of delinquency and neglect of Party duties, which in effect is what such arguments amount to. Members failing to pay dues, or request exemption, in time, and who fail to attend meetings at scheduled opening time, must accept the logical consequences. To expect the Party to frame its Constitution

in order to accommodate delinquents is, in fact, to encourage delinquency.

Article II, Section 11: The question having been asked: What constitutes holding office within the Section? the N.E.C. has ruled that "to hold office" within the meaning of the present clause refers to those who hold the offices of Organizer, Financial Secretary, Recording Secretary, and members of Grievance Committee and Membership Committee. It is thought desirable either so to specify in the present clause, or so to declare in a formal resolution by the Convention.

Article II, Section 14:

It is proposed to add the words "as well as changes in membership," after the word "Section," second line of present clause. The proposed change is of obvious routine character.

Article II, Section 16:

Add the words: "constitution, its" after the word "Party's," 16th line of present clause.

This, too, is a change of routine character.

Article II, Section 19:

Add the words: "of the workers in this struggle," after the word "support," sixth line of present clause.

This is a simple amplification which hardly requires comment.

Article II, Section 20:

Substitute for the word "reside" (last word in present clause) the following: "maintain regular or legal residence."

No comment seems required to explain this proposed change or amplification and clarification.

Article II, Section 23:

(a) Add the words "recorded and" after "officially," 7th line of present clause;

(b) Add the words "body issuing the transfer — Section, Language Branch, or N.E.C., as the case may be, pending completion of transfer," after the definite article "the" in the 10th line of present clause and rearrange wording to simplify construction of sentence.

Comment: These are pure routine changes and additions, requiring no detailed comment.

Article II, Section 24:

(a) Substitute for word "Section," 9th line present clause, the following: "body having jurisdiction."

(b) Amend by striking out the entire part of the clause beginning "At the end of the fifth month..." and substitute for it the following:

"At the end of the fifth month a letter shall be sent by registered mail, advising the delinquent member that unless he clears himself of his delinquency before such and such a date (the end of the sixth month), his name will be stricken from the membership roll. At the end of the sixth month, unless paid up or exemption stamps have been requested, the name of such member shall then be stricken from the membership roll and the fact so recorded in the minutes. Until the name of such member has been stricken from the membership roll, by motion duly made and carried, and the said motion having been duly recorded in the minutes, he shall be considered to be under the disciplinary control of the Party subdivision having jurisdiction or of the N.E.C., in the case of national members-at-large."

Comment: This proposition originated in the N.E.C. Sub-Committee. The Sub-Committee member who brought it up argued (and the N.E.C. Sub-Committee apparently agreed) that under the present clause no formal motion seems to be required in order to drop a member from the rolls for non-payment of dues. It was also pointed out that by sending a letter by registered mail the delinquent member may not only be more deeply impressed as to his delinquency, but the Section will also know whether or not he received the final notice.

Article II, Section 25:

Strike out entirely present clause, and substitute for it the following:

"A member who has not paid his N.E.C. and Mileage Assessment by December 31 of any year, or who has failed to demand, and therefore has not received exemption for same, shall be notified in writing by the Financial Secretary, and at the conclusion of the third month of the following year shall stand suspended without further action of the Section. At the end of the fifth month, another notice shall be sent to the delinquent by registered mail, and at the end of the sixth month, unless paid up his name shall be stricken from the list of members and the fact so recorded in the minutes."

Comment: In the present clause a delinquent is to be dealt with as per Article II, Section 24. That clause, however, deals with monthly dues. The assessment is due once a year. The provision in Article II, Section 24, therefore, becomes meaningless, since it cannot be related to an obligation which covers a whole year. The amendment proposed is now in

effect as a ruling of the N.E.C.

Article II, Section 29:

(a) Add the word "may" after the word "which" in 11th line of the present clause, and strike out words "however, shall not."

(b) Add after word "filed," 13th line present clause, the following: "provided they are germane to the issue, and provided further that they do not constitute argument as aforesaid."

Comment: The intent of this amendment is to make permissible the reading of specifications accompanying charges if such specifications do not contain language which is argumentative or amount to a discussion of the charges. There have been occasions when utterly frivolous charges have been presented to a Section which should never have been dignified by referring to the Grievance Committee. A reading of the specifications in such cases would have enlightened the Section with regard to their trivial, frivolous or mischievous character. Specifications may obviously be argumentative, but they may also constitute allegations, presented in a matter-of-fact way, without entering into any discussion as to the matters alleged. Such specifications, if not so long as to subvert the intent of the proposed change, should be read when charges are read. If their reading consumes more than a few minutes, it is obvious that they are in the nature of discussions of charges, and should accordingly be referred, unread, to the Grievance Committee for investigation and report.

Article II, Section 32:

Add after word "expulsions," second line present clause, the words,

"including those in the Federations."

Comment: While this amplification of the clause providing for publication of suspensions and expulsions in the Party's official organ is implicit in the clause as it now reads, it is believed that it should be made explicit. It follows also a recent ruling by the N.E.C.

Article II, Section 44:

Add after the last word in present clause the words: "This provision shall not apply in the case of such organizations abroad as are recognized as *bona fide* Socialist Labor Parties."

Comment: There may be those who would argue that the official organ of the British S.L.P., *The Socialist*, is not a Party publication, not being owned and controlled by the S.L.P. of America, and that therefore to solicit subs., etc., for it might bring members into conflict with the present clause. It is felt that the proposed addition will clarify the intent of the present clause, and eliminate such doubts as suggested.

Article V, Section 5:

Add after the word "Committee," 4th line present clause, the words, "nor shall he be permitted to hold the office of State Secretary, nor..."

Comment: The present clause prohibits an N.E.C. member to be a member of a State Executive Committee. The proposed addition would prevent a member being a State Secretary as well as a member of the N.E.C., this now undoubtedly being implicit in the present clause. It should be made explicit.

Article V, Section 5:

Add the words "and to uphold the Constitution of the Party," after the

word "tactics," 5th line present clause.

Comment: In a pledge to support principles, resolutions, etc., of the Party, there should be made specific mention of the Party's Constitution also.

Article V, Section 10:

This clause now reads:

"The N.E.C. shall meet once a year in regular session, on the first Saturday in May, or in special session upon the written call of at least a majority of its members pledging themselves to attend; said call to be sent to the National Secretary and published in the official organ twice in succession."

It is proposed to amend this clause as follows: Add after the word "May," third line present clause, the words "except as provided hereinafter."

Add new paragraph (b) as follows:

"(b) In any year which coincides with the quadrennial or National Convention of the Party, the N.E.C. may meet subject to call any time during the year. The decision as to whether and when the N.E.C. may, or should, meet in such a year, shall rest with the N.E.C."

Comment: The N.E.C. Session which up till now meets, and has met, immediately after the National Convention, has, and has had, practically nothing to do. Whatever routine action may be required by the N.E.C. (such as appointment of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee, etc.) can just as well be attended to by mail. It seems a waste of time and money to hold N.E.C. Sessions immediately after a Convention, at a time when both time and money are at a pre-

mium. As amended, the clause would still make possible an N.E.C. Session in such years, if needed, with this advantage, that such N.E.C. Session, if needed, could then be held at such time of the year as would best serve the interests of the Party.

Article V, Section 13 (d):

Add after the word "Committee" the following: "foreign Language Federation."

Comment: This is an obvious rounding-out, or completion. The three subdivisions in the Party are *Sections, State Executive Committees, and Language Federations.*

Article V, Section 13 (i):

Strike out words "no vote, but merely an advisory voice," and substitute for them the following: "a voice in all its proceedings, but no vote."

Comment: The sense is the same, but the proposed change, it is believed, places the "no vote" and "voice" provisions in their proper relation and perspective.

Article VI, Section 3:

(a) Strike out the words: "but shall have an advisory," and substitute the words: "and shall have a..."

(b) Add after last word present clause the words: "but no vote."

Comment: The same point is involved here as in Article V, Section 13 (i).

Article VII, Section 3:

Add after last word present clause the following: "and no member may at the same time be a candidate for delegate and alternate. Acceptance of nomination for one constitutes, *ipso facto*, rejection of the other."

Comment: In the recent election of delegates and alternates to the convention, this question came up again and again. It seems desirable to include this proposed provision in the Constitution to clarify the question. Apart from that, it should be obvious that no one can, or should, be permitted to run for two offices at the same time. It is theoretically possible that a member might be elected both delegate and alternate, since one Section's membership would not know how the members of other Sections voted.

Article VII, Section 4:

Strike out the words "the absence of a State Executive Committee," first line present clause and substitute for them the following: "states having no State Executive Committees."

Comment: This is merely an attempt at simplifying the language of the present clause, and to express its intent more clearly.

Article VII, Section 11:

Add after last word present clause, the words "pertaining thereto."

Comment: The addition is intended to clarify the reference to "Resolutions."

Article VIII, Section 3:

It is proposed to amend this clause to read as follows:

"Members residing in states where one or more Sections exist, but in a locality having no organized Section, shall be attached to the nearest Section as Section members-at-large. Applications for such membership-at-large shall be submitted to the N.E.C. for approval and determination as to the Section nearest to the residence of applicant."

Comment: The present constitu-

tional clause provides that the applicant must first be admitted as national member-at-large, and then be transferred, by the N.E.C., to the nearest Section. This has proved a clumsy method, creating a great deal of useless red tape, and extra work for the National Office. The proposed method would eliminate the red tape, and still leave with the N.E.C. the determination as to the nearest Section to which applicants should be assigned (if application is granted) as Section members-at-large.

Article XIII, new Section 3:

New section, providing as follows:

"Whenever, in any vote on a motion at Section business meetings, the vote of the chairman will produce a tie, the said motion shall not be regarded as having failed. When, however, a tie is produced without the chairman having voted on the question, the chairman may then cast the deciding vote."

Comment: The reason for this proposed amendment goes back to trouble which arose in then Section Peoria, Ill. Internal disturbances had reached the point of virtual disruption, and on a motion, the carrying of which was important to the Section's, and therefore the Party's welfare, the chairman (who was on the side of the disturbers) voted with the minority, thereby creating a tie, and thus transformed a minority into a majority which actually, even with his vote, was no more of a majority than the opposing side which happened to represent the Party's best interests. *Robert's Rules of Order* provides that the chairman "can vote with the minority when it will produce a tie vote and thus cause the

motion to fail; but he cannot vote twice, first to make a tie, and then to give the casting vote." The fact remains, however, that by voting with the minority, thereby creating a tie, the chairman in effect does give a "casting" vote, since by voting as he did he, in effect, cast the deciding vote, favoring the minority.

When the question came before the N.E.C. Sub-Committee in 1937 (and subsequently before the N.E.C. at its May session 1938), the Sub-Committee was obliged to sustain the disturbing element in the Section, since *Robert's Rules of Order* was on their side, and in the absence of a provision to the contrary in the S.L.P. Constitution, *Robert's Rules of Order* governs. In a letter to the Section, the National Secretary, writing on behalf of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee, stated:

"I submitted your letter of September 16 [1937], requesting a ruling, to the N.E.C. Sub-Committee at its regular meeting held September 23, and I was instructed to advise you that since *Robert's Rules of Order* specifically governs the organization wherever no special rules are provided, the action of the chairman at the Section Peoria meeting casting a vote to create a tie, thereby causing the motion to be lost, was constitutional.

"I was instructed, however, to add that, although the N.E.C. Sub-Committee has no choice but to declare the chairman right in acting as he did, the Committee is of the opinion that such action is not in the best interests of the organization. Steps will be taken at the proper time to attempt the adoption of a constitutional amendment which will make it impossible for a chairman at a Sec-

tion meeting to cast his vote so as to create a tie whereby a motion may become lost.

"The N.E.C. Sub-Committee, however, felt it to be its duty to call to the attention of Section Peoria that, although the chairman was technically justified in acting as he did, it is decidedly not to the best interests of the organization that advantage be taken of the technicality invoked causing a motion to be lost, by the chairman effecting a tied vote by casting his own vote. I need hardly add that the Sub-Committee's opinion, however, cannot and does not affect the final decision of the Section resulting from the chairman's having voted to create a tied vote."

This completes amendments proposed in behalf of the National Executive Committee.

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State of Organization.

A. State Committees and Sections.

CALIFORNIA.

There are four Sections and a State Committee in California. Nominally this is one Section less than four years ago, but in reality there has been no decrease. Section Hawthorne, located in a suburb of Los Angeles, was merged with Section Los Angeles. The four Sections are: Los Angeles, Oakland, San Francisco and Santa Clara County. The state, as will be recalled, suffered a major disruption a year or two preceding the last campaign from which it has fully recovered, except that numerically the membership is not yet quite up to what it was before the disruption, but qualitatively and in agitational

respects it is far ahead of the pre-disruption period. Under the able direction of the State Executive Committee and the State Secretary, Comrade Edward Ward, splendid work has been carried on. Two state organizers have been on the road off and on, Comrades Mack Johnson and Carl Vetter, aside from Comrade Eric Hass, who, up to the time he went East to assume his duties as Editor of our official organ, did such splendid work in the various fields of outdoor and indoor speaking, study classes and the radio. Parenthetically it might be observed that the absence of Comrade Hass as field organizer has been felt, though ample compensation is found through the work he is now doing in his new field.

If it were possible to appear on the ballot in California, it can hardly be doubted that much greater progress could be made. But, unfortunately, in this respect the situation remains unchanged. Despite the supposed new "liberal" administration in California, the requirements for getting on the ballot are as prohibitive as ever, approximately 269,000 signatures being required to place a minority party's ticket on the ballot. It would have been far more honest if the reactionary capitalist politicians had openly decreed that the Socialist Labor Party shall not appear on the ballot in California.

There are in the state three Language Federation Branches, three study classes, and three Weekly People Clubs.

CANADA.

There are now seven Sections in Canada which were all doing good

work until the outbreak of war. Obviously the Sections and members have been greatly hampered since Canada entered the holy crusade of doing something or other for the world and humanity! More details concerning Canada will be given under a separate head, and undoubtedly also in person by the Canadian comrade who is attending this convention, by special invitation of the N.E.C., as fraternal delegate, with voice but no vote.

There are two Language Federation Branches and seven study classes in Canada.

COLORADO.

Our small Section in Denver continues to struggle along, being still an outpost in a sort of "no man's land." Under the circumstances as good work is being done as can be expected. There are no Language Branches in the state, but there is a study class in Denver.

Only 500 signatures are required to get on the ballot in this state, and it is practically assured that the Party's ticket will be on the ballot.

CONNECTICUT.

In this state there are a State Executive Committee and five Sections, namely: Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, New London and South Norwalk. Despite what seems to be exceptionally favorable conditions, we are not making the progress it seems we should be making. Among the favorable factors are the smallness and compactness of this industrial state, our being an official party, thereby being saved the trouble and expense of gathering signatures, and a competent and efficient state secretary. Particularly

disappointing is Section Hartford, which is barely "hanging on," though it is a large city and should offer a fruitful field for S.L.P. propaganda. Section New London, too, is in a precarious situation, but, then, we never had much of a Section in that city. Attempts at ascertaining what really constitutes the cause of this lack of substantial progress, despite the good work being constantly done in Connecticut, have not met with much success.

As stated, we are assured a place on the ballot, and this fact, of course, constitutes one of the solid achievements of our Connecticut state organization. In 1936 there were cast 1,228 votes for the S.L.P. Presidential ticket. In the 1938 state election the S.L.P. in Connecticut received nearly 7,000 votes.

There are in this state two Hungarian Federation Branches, three study classes, and one Weekly People Club, the last mentioned recently organized in South Norwalk.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

There is a Section in the nation's capital which is doing good work notwithstanding the fact that several members are Federal employees who, under the reactionary Hatch Act, are prevented from taking an active part in Party work. Despite this added handicap, the Section finds it possible to assist the comrades in neighboring Maryland. The Section includes some of our youngest, as well as oldest members, Comrade M. R. George, ever ready to assist financially, probably being one of the oldest members in the Party.

Needless to say, this Section is confronted with no problem con-

cerning getting on the ballot. But Section Washington, D. C., is, nevertheless, doing its share in this respect by helping to collect signatures in Maryland.

There is one study class in Washington.

ILLINOIS.

There are a State Executive Committee and six Sections in this state, viz., Belleville, Cook County, East St. Louis, Fulton County, Rockford, Waukegan.

Section Cook County is, of course, the largest, and splendid work is carried on in the city of Chicago. Most of the others need strengthening rather badly, and this is particularly true of the Sections in the Southern Illinois coal field.

There are six Language Federation Branches, five study classes and three Weekly People Clubs in the state.

To get on the ballot in Illinois presents quite a problem. Not less than 25,000 signatures are required, to include 200 from each of fifty counties. The State Executive Committee is organizing its forces for the task and the Illinois comrades are proceeding on the assumption that they will succeed as they did in 1936.

In 1936 we polled in Illinois 1,921 votes for President, which should be bettered many times this year, considering the educational work carried on.

INDIANA.

There are in this state a State Executive Committee and six Sections: Evansville, Fort Wayne, Indianapolis, Lake County, St. Joseph County and Whitley County. Of

these, Section Lake County (with steel city Gary as center) was organized about a year ago, while Section Whitley County was organized last October. We have made considerable progress in Indiana, and without detracting from the work of the others, it must be said that the two new Sections are setting the older Sections a splendid example.

There are four Language Federation Branches, five study classes, and two Weekly People Clubs in the state.

It is no easy task to get on the ballot in Indiana. Four years ago we failed, but that was in large measure due to the criminal neglect of the then state secretary, now expelled. Somewhat more than 8,000 signatures must be gathered, which means at least 10,000. It is believed, however, that this time our Indiana comrades are not going to get caught napping. Fortunately we have this year a state secretary, Comrade Charles Ginsberg, who (with the active help of the membership) is not likely to permit this important matter to go by default.

IOWA.

While in this state we still have no organized Sections, we have a considerable number of members-at-large who are doing good work. Comrade Fred Waitz in Des Moines has continued his splendid work with increasing success. In effect, Comrade Waitz is a state secretary and state committee rolled into one! He has been singularly successful in securing publicity for the Party through the large numbers of letters he has had printed in the press, and in which he has had the cooperation of the other members in the state. If

present plans materialize, the Socialist Labor Party will be represented with a booth at the Iowa State Fair in August this year. At this booth there will be on display Party literature, and information generally will be rendered available to the visitors whose numbers will run into the hundreds of thousands. The negotiations have not been finally completed, but if this attempt to publicize the Party in Iowa fails, it will be no fault of our energetic, enterprising Comrade Waitz!

It is hoped that we shall place the Party's ticket on the ballot in Iowa this year, as we did in 1936.

KENTUCKY.

In this southern state we still have only one Section, located in Louisville. Not much work other than routine is being done except when national organizers come into the state, and then, of course, of short duration only. An attempt was made a couple of years ago to develop what was designated the Ohio Valley Circuit, in which Louisville was included, and to which a devoted Louisville sympathizer contributed funds generously, but unfortunately the plan did not "take." Under the prevailing circumstances little can be expected from Louisville except financial support, at least until such time as someone is uncovered, or settles in Louisville, possessing the ability, and having the time, to initiate and direct the work which we know can be accomplished in Louisville.

There are no Federation Branches, study classes or Weekly People Clubs in Kentucky. As far as we know, the Party's ticket will be on the ballot in the state this year. In

1936 we polled 294 votes in the state.

MAINE.

Although we have no Section in Maine, good work is being carried on by the members-at-large in the state. Comrade E. C. Smith, of Portland, has taken the initiative in keeping the S.L.P. before the workers of Maine by writing letters to the press, distributing leaflets, etc. Other comrades in the state have assisted. If it were possible to keep an organizer in the state a few months, it would undoubtedly be possible to organize one or more Sections.

One thousand signatures are required to get on the ballot in Maine. It is expected that the Party will qualify to place its ticket on the ballot this year. In 1936 we polled 129 votes in the state.

MARYLAND.

Section Baltimore is the only Section in this state. As stated, the Washington, D.C., comrades generously lend their assistance, and regularly cooperate in bringing at intervals week-end speakers from New York and other rather distant points to lecture in Washington and Baltimore.

Nothing very startling, however, seems to happen in Baltimore. Undoubtedly the Section does the best it can with the material at hand, although at times one wonders whether full advantage is taken of such opportunities as must present themselves from time to time. National Organizers Quinn and Pirincin have visited Baltimore repeatedly, with reports as to prospects of building up the Section proportionate to the

size and importance of the city of Baltimore. Baltimore being one of the great ports of the world, the Section used to contact many seafaring men, but of late little is heard of any work being done in this respect. A national organizer stationed in Baltimore a few months would undoubtedly uncover material that would result in the Section's increased growth and influence.

There are no Language Federation Branches, no Weekly People Clubs, but one study class in Baltimore. A few out-of-town members reside in western Maryland.

Two thousand signatures are required to get on the ballot in Maryland. These are now being gathered, and our ticket on the ballot as the Labor Party seems assured. We polled 1,305 votes in the state in 1936.

MASSACHUSETTS.

There are a State Executive Committee and four Sections in this state: Boston, Hampden County, Lynn and Waltham.

Section Salem, which was not functioning four years ago, lapsed, and the remaining members were transferred to the nearest Section, Lynn. Though there have been no sensational developments, Party work proceeds steadily in the state, particularly, of course, in Boston. Section Boston had the distinction of winning the first prize in the recent WEEKLY PEOPLE contest, with two of its members leading nationally in the contest.

There are no Language Federation Branches in the state. There are two study classes and one Weekly People Club.

The restrictions placed on minority parties getting on the ballot have increased considerably since 1936, although as yet the Party is not affected. The legislature passed an unusually reactionary election law measure, which would virtually have barred a minority party from securing a place on the ballot. The Party protested vigorously to the then newly elected governor, with the result that at the latter's instance the election law was amended. The requirement now is that a party must have polled in the previous election for governor approximately 1,800 votes in order to get on the ballot by nominating in caucus. The S.L.P. polled nearly 4,000 votes in 1938, which assures the Party of a place on the ballot without the necessity of circulating petitions. In 1936 the Presidential candidate of the Party received 1,305 votes in the state.

MICHIGAN.

Section Wayne County is the only Section in the state. Through a specially authorized state committee it is, however, taking care of the agitation in the state. The Section is, on the whole, doing excellent work, although it is felt that with even greater attention to strictly agitational and propaganda activities, and less preoccupation with certain matters which seem to lie outside the field of a healthy, hustling Section, still more and better work might be done. The Section is handicapped to some extent by the shift-system in the plants, making it difficult for members to get together and work together.

There are three Language Federation Branches, two study classes,

and two Weekly People Clubs in Detroit.

In this state, too, the reactionary politicians have been at work to increase the restrictions placed on minority parties attempting to qualify on the ballot. While formerly it was a simple matter to place the Party's ticket on the ballot in Michigan, it is now a most difficult matter. Approximately 7,500 signatures are required, and, lacking experience, and partly because of the shift system, the comrades feel that they are facing a critical situation. The time in which to secure the signatures is extremely limited, and because it is early in the season (the signatures must be filed approximately by the end of April), the National Office has no signature-gatherers or organizers to be rushed into the state to assist. At the time of preparing this report the issue is in doubt. Despite the admitted difficulties it is hard to reconcile oneself to the thought that in the state of Michigan, and with so large a Section, it should prove impossible to secure relatively so small a number of signatures. One cannot help experiencing a sense of humiliation at the prospect of defeat.

In 1936 we polled 600 votes for President in the state.

MINNESOTA.

There are a State Executive Committee and five Sections in this state: Alborn, Duluth, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Winona. The work of the Party proceeds steadily, with most work being done in the Twin Cities. The mild weather season in this state is short, rendering it somewhat difficult to carry on outdoor activities.

There are no Language Federation Branches, but we have three study classes and two Weekly People Clubs in the state.

There has been no change in the number of signatures (2,000) to be gathered in order to get on the ballot, but certain technical restrictions have been imposed that make it more difficult to qualify. Unless unforeseen difficulties arise, it appears certain that the Party's ticket will be on the ballot in Minnesota this year, under the designation Industrial Party. In 1936 we polled 961 votes in the state for President.

MISSOURI.

Sections St. Louis and Kansas City are still the only Sections in this state. Section Kansas City has had difficulties in meeting regularly, despite the fact that the membership includes those two stalwarts, Comrades Hiltner and Oberheu. For all that, the fort is being held, and the S.L.P. banner is still flying high. But reinforcements are undeniably needed.

Section St. Louis is doing good work, taking care also of the contiguous Southern Illinois territory. Our veteran Comrade Cox is still the tireless, inspiring example to the comrades. It is expected to place an organizer in Missouri a considerable length of time this campaign.

There are two Language Federation Branches in St. Louis, one study class, and one Weekly People Club in the same city.

Apparently the Party faces no problem in getting on the ballot in this state. In 1936 we polled 292 votes in Missouri.

NEW JERSEY.

There are a State Executive Committee and four Sections in this state: Cumberland County, Essex County, Hudson County and Passaic County. Section Cumberland County is the latest arrival in the family of S.L.P. Sections, and is doing excellent work. Sections Hudson and Passaic Counties are virtually reorganized Sections, and both are carrying on splendidly. Relative to the size and importance of Newark, Section Essex County does not compare quite so favorably with the other Sections in the state, but there, too, there are definite indications of progress. At present that Section has under its jurisdiction the much smaller, but important industrial city of New Brunswick, where study classes have been conducted, and where the prospects of organizing a Section are steadily improving. As one of the most important industrial states in the Union, New Jersey should be well in the front of active S.L.P. units, despite the fact that the workers are largely in the grip of the evil combination of corrupt politics and the Ultramontane reaction.

There is a South Slavonian Branch in Hoboken, and the state has four study classes, but no Weekly People Clubs.

It is still a simple matter to get on the ballot in New Jersey, which, considering the ultra-reactionary character of its politicians, is somewhat of a wonder. Only 800 signatures are required to get on the ballot, and these may be gathered anywhere in the state. Barring wholly unforeseen developments, there is, of course, no question about New Jersey registering in the columns of

Socialist Labor Party states this campaign. In 1936 we polled 346 votes in the state for President.

NEW YORK.

In this, the "Empire State," we have a total of twelve Sections, most of which are active, doing splendid work under the general direction of an efficient State Executive Committee, and its very capable state secretary, Comrade Emil F. Teichert. The Sections are as follows: Bronx, Broome County, Erie County, Jamestown, Kings County, Monroe County, Montgomery County, New York, Oneida County, Onondaga County, Orange County, Rensselaer County. That the three Sections in the metropolitan area are playing a leading role in this respect is, of course, not to be wondered at. A couple of the up-state Sections need strengthening, especially in Utica and Amsterdam, and to a lesser extent, perhaps, in Newburgh and Binghamton also. In Buffalo, where we should have one of the largest Sections in the state, internal dissensions have for a long time attended the activities of the Section. In fact, ever since the corrupt assault on the Party by the Katz traitors, the Section has suffered from clashing of personalities, though these clashes naturally are mere manifestations of a more deep-seated cause. More of this, however, under a separate head.

There are six Language Federation Branches in the state, ten study classes and two Weekly People Clubs. Considering the number of Sections, and the size and importance of the state, there would seem to be room for improvement with regard to study classes and Weekly People Clubs.

At the suggestion of Comrade Joseph Schworer in Schenectady (where we have no Section as yet), the New York S.E.C. organized what has been designated the Capital District Propaganda Committee, comprising the Sections of Rensselaer and Montgomery Counties, and covering also the counties of Schenectady and Albany. This committee meets at regular intervals in Schenectady. It is planning to take an active part in coordinating and promoting Party agitation in the Capital District during the campaign.

The problem of getting on the ballot in New York is a serious one. It is not so much a question of the number of signatures needed (which, in comparison with Illinois and Ohio, is not so large), but the presence of the most unscrupulous and intriguing group of corrupt politicians in the Union. As you know, the political gangsters succeeded in tricking us off the ballot in 1936, though we had qualified in all respects. That capitalist tool *par excellence*, the American Labor party, readily lent itself to the plans of the Roosevelt-Lehman clique. Our New York comrades need to be on the job, alert and watchful, taking nothing for granted.

OHIO.

Ohio has the second largest number of S.L.P. Sections: Akron, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Hamilton County, Lorain, Salem, Stark County, Steubenville, Youngstown. The State Executive Committee is on the job—and on the whole doing a good job. One or two of the Sections are not in the best state of health. This, unfortunately, is particularly true of Columbus where,

despite repeated and strenuous efforts, it has been impossible to attract that new material which is needed to save the Section. On the whole, however, splendid work is being done in this important industrial state.

The state has the largest number of Language Federation Branches (14), ten study classes, and four Weekly People Clubs functioning regularly, constituting an important source of support to the Party.

In Ohio (next to California) we face the most difficult problem with regard to getting on the ballot. The huge number of 24,129 signatures must be gathered, which in practice means that more than 30,000 must be assured. The restrictions are so severe as to have defeated our efforts repeatedly. In addition to the other restrictions, the state exacts a filing fee of a percentage of the annual salary of the candidate's office (not to exceed \$50), which amount is forfeited if we fail—or, rather, if the politicians arbitrarily decide that we shall not appear on the ballot. (In 1936 the fee for the S.L.P. ticket amounted to \$195.) As you know, we did fail in 1936, after spending a great deal of money on signatures, not to mention the \$195 which became "spurlos versankt" in the State Secretary's office at Columbus! As usual, the effort will be made this year again, and with past experience to guide our Ohio comrades, it is expected that we shall "make the grade."

OKLAHOMA.

The looked-for progress in this state has not materialized. The presence of Comrade Reynolds in the state four or five years ago gave rise

to hopes that one or more Sections might soon develop, and that we might appear on the ballot in the state, but his departure, after a short stay, reduced the chances of success in these respects. No one has as yet developed the experience, the driving power, with the time needed, to effect for the Party what is undoubtedly more than a mere possibility. Comrade Claude Robins has the spirit and desire, but to some extent lacks the experience and time needed to lead in putting Oklahoma on the S.L.P. map. Under the prevailing circumstances it is not likely that we shall be able to appear on the ballot in Oklahoma, where more than 5,000 signatures must be collected by early April.

Nevertheless, slow but steady progress is being made, and with the recent arrival in the state of a comrade from Boston, and the development of a few more prospects this campaign, the outlook for success in the near future is more promising.

OREGON.

There are a State Executive Committee and three Sections in Oregon: Astoria, Bend and Portland. There has been little material progress in the state, and yet the work of S.L.P. agitation and education proceeds steadily.

There is a Bulgarian Federation Branch in Portland, and three study classes in the state, with a Weekly People Club in Bend.

It is no easy task to get on the ballot in Oregon, where approximately 18,500 signatures are needed. Considering the number of Sections in the state, this is a huge total. They can be gathered, however, as was established in 1936, when, with

the aid of Comrade Hass (then national organizer), and the comrades of nearby Vancouver, Wash., we rolled up a surplus that assured us a place on the ballot. Needless to say, a strenuous effort will be made this year, and with outside help we expect to be on the ballot in Oregon. In 1936 we polled 500 votes for President in Oregon.

PENNSYLVANIA.

In this large industrial state we have a State Executive Committee and seven Sections. They are: Allegheny County, Beaver County, Blair County, Dauphin County, Erie, Greensburg, Philadelphia.

Under the able direction of an efficient State Committee and a capable state secretary, excellent work is being carried on incessantly in this state. Needless to say, our difficulties in this state are as great, if not greater, than in most states.

There are two Language Federation Branches, nine study classes, and two Weekly People Clubs in the state.

To get on the ballot in Pennsylvania requires the securing of 14,479 signatures. This in itself is no great problem in a state with many subdivisions, but in Pennsylvania, as in several other states, the Party faces the problem of being unable to appear on the ballot under its honored and historic name, the S.P. in the past having preempted the name "Socialist." When at the last election the corrupt and bankrupt S.P. failed to survive the election as an official party, the Socialist Labor Party, for the first time in a generation or more, had the opportunity presented to it of appearing on the ballot as the Socialist Labor Party

(having heretofore been listed on the ballot as the "Industrial Party," the "Industrial Party" or the "Industrial Labor Party"). Accordingly, the Socialist Labor Party in 1938 circulated petitions under its own name, and having filed before the S.P. (which also circulated petitions), our Party was accepted by the Board of Elections as the Socialist Labor Party. The unprincipled Socialist party politicians contested our right to the name "Socialist," and were soundly beaten. Thereupon these political gangsters (with what collusion we may some day learn) attacked the validity of our petitions on highly technical grounds, and with much judicial maneuvering and contradictory rulings, and no end of political skulduggery by S.P. politicians and lawyers, we were finally ruled off the ballot in Pennsylvania. For its treachery and outrageous scoundrelism, the S.P. was rewarded by once more failing to become an official party, which means that this year they again had to resort to desperate methods in order to appear on the ballot. At the moment of writing, our status with respect to getting on the ballot in Pennsylvania is in doubt, though that doubt will have been resolved by the time this report is presented.

By this time our status in Pennsylvania has been determined: The S.P. filed first, and, although their petitions were obviously defective in many respects, it would have been a costly affair to contest them, and at the same time run the risk of our ticket not getting on the ballot at all. Under the circumstances, the S.E.C., wisely we believe, decided to file their petitions under the designation of the Industrial Government Party.

Whatever happens, the work of the S.L.P. in Pennsylvania will go on, and before long we shall bury the ill-smelling carcass of the foul thing fraudulently known as the Socialist party of Pennsylvania.

In 1936 we polled 1,424 votes for President in the state.

RHODE ISLAND.

The solitary Section in this stronghold of textile barons and Ultramontane politics has not fared so well these last few years. Due to deaths, departure from the state, and other causes, the membership has dwindled to the point where (unless "reinforcements" arrive) the question of keeping it on the rolls as a Section must be considered. Despite the compactness of this little state, and despite our having been organized in Rhode Island since the dawn of S.L.P. history, we never made the progress which we should have made in Rhode Island. Disruption, of course, has played its part, as recorded, for example, by Henry Kuhn in his De Leon reminiscences, under the head "Rhode Islandiana." "The Curran Jesuit move" (to use De Leon's phrase) was but one of those incidents which causes one to wonder to what extent the Ultramontane machine may have attempted to reach into Party affairs with its long arms. There have certainly been more recent signs of the presence of latter-day Jesuitical Currans in Rhode Island. Be this as it may, it is a tragedy that in this state it has not been possible at least to maintain a Section in good working order.

Needless to say, there are neither Language Federation Branches, study classes, nor Weekly People Clubs in this benign state.

It is comparatively easy to get on the ballot in Rhode Island, and despite its depleted membership the effort will be made to secure the 500 signatures needed, and no doubt we shall succeed. Because of its at present depleted membership, Rhode Island for the first time within memory, and perhaps for the first time in S.L.P. history, is not represented by a delegate at a national convention of the Party.

In 1936 we polled 929 votes in the state (for President), indicating substantial, if somewhat qualified, acceptance of the S.L.P. program in "little old Rhody."

WASHINGTON.

In this northernmost state to the west we have a State Executive Committee and seven Sectional: Everett, Longview, Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma, Vancouver and White Salmon. While there is lots of room for improvement, it can be said that these Sections on the whole are carrying on the Party's work with a moderate measure of success, and with credit to the S.L.P. There are no Language Federation Branches in the state. There are, however, five study classes, but no Weekly People Clubs in Washington.

There is no serious problem involved in getting on the ballot in this state. A filing fee is required which, of course, is declared forfeit if the candidate fails of election. Those filing fees take on the appearance of a rather cheap racket in political gangsterdom—though not so cheap so far as we are concerned! The Presidential candidate of the S.L.P. polled 362 votes in Washington in 1936.

VIRGINIA and WEST VIRGINIA.

We have no Sections in these two states, but quite a few members-at-large are scattered throughout them. There is a group of five such members in Weston, W. Va. Hope had been entertained to organize a Section in that city, and also to place the Party's ticket on the ballot in the state of West Virginia. The number of signatures required (approximately 8,300) is, however, prohibitive. In Virginia, on the other hand, it is still a simple process to qualify on the ballot, and it is expected that we will be on the ballot in the "Old Dominion" this campaign as we were in the past. In 1936 we polled only 86 votes in Virginia, the small number being due to the fact, of course, that we had neither a Section, nor active members to carry on a campaign.

WISCONSIN.

In this state we have only one Section, Milwaukee, but members-at-large are scattered throughout the state. Internal dissensions all but wrecked this once splendid Section, concerning which more will be said later.

There are two Language Federation Branches in the state, and one study class. There was a Weekly People Club which was dissolved some time ago, apparently one of the casualties in the struggle within the Section.

In order to get on the ballot in Wisconsin, 5,000 signatures must be gathered for governor, etc., 1,000 for presidential electors. If the Milwaukee comrades can manage to work together in harmony, we shall be on the ballot in Wisconsin this

campaign. If we fail, it will be nothing less than a crime committed against the Party. In 1936 we polled 557 votes in the state for President.

The votes reported in the foregoing as having been cast for the S.L.P. in 1936 are the votes for President. Wherever we had candidates for state offices, the vote cast for same was considerably higher, with one exception where that vote was slightly smaller.

B.—Language Federations.

Herewith are submitted the reports of the Foreign Language Federations, Bulgarian, Hungarian and South Slavonian Socialist Labor Federations. These reports speak for themselves, and show that the Federations are doing splendid work in their particular fields, and that, despite all the obstacles created by the exceptional international situation, they are still able to carry on the work within their now somewhat restricted fields.

REPORT OF THE BULGARIAN FEDERATION.

"To the 20th National Convention, Socialist Labor Party.

"Greetings:

"In reviewing the general activity of the Bulgarian Socialist Labor Federation for the preceding four years, I may state at the outset that no effort was spared to enhance the work of the Socialist Labor Party. We have managed to keep at least one organizer in the field practically throughout these years. And there can be no question that some progress has been gradually made in

spreading the teachings of the Socialist Labor Party among the Bulgarian workers.

"While the results, in point of figures, may not be such as to do justice to the efforts made, still, under the circumstances, they are far from being discouraging. In comparison to the previous four years they are highly encouraging. The collection of funds, for instance, amounting to \$40,788.84 for the past four years, exceeds the same for the previous four years by \$19,662.15. Likewise the contributions to the various Party funds, amounting to \$17,305.28 for the past four years, exceed the same for the previous four years by \$10,294.19.

"Where we did not fare so well, or, rather, what might be construed as 'meeting reverses,' is in point of numbers, with regard to members. Here we must register a loss of two Branches since 1936 and a drop of the membership from 357 to slightly below 300. On this score we are confronted with a peculiar situation, difficult to overcome, for the time being at least. The unusual activity of some self-styled super-patriots in and out of Congress, the propaganda for drastic anti-alien legislation and the threat of deporting undesirable foreign-born, have resulted in a serious impediment to our work. This put fear in many foreign-born workers. Some figure that the only way they can escape being tormented is to keep a safe distance from the revolutionary movement. Perhaps this is the intention of the proposed anti-alien legislation—to scare workers away from the revolutionary movement. To be sure, the activity of the reactionaries in this respect caused a good many foreign-born workers to

take the step to complete their citizenship. But for the time being, they, too, are forced to hold back, fearing that any connection with the organization might impede the completion of their citizenship. The fear is such that at times even old members would either let themselves be dropped from the organization or ask for 'leave of absence' until their citizenship is completed.

"Thus, while we are gaining sympathizers, as shown by the greater results of our activities, under the circumstances we can hardly expect, for the time being at least, to gain many new members, or even stop losing some. For the period reported, while only 37 new members have been admitted, 60 have been dropped, 15 expelled, 16 resigned, 3 left for the old country, and 11 died. Of the members we now have, 201 are reported as naturalized citizens.

"However, notwithstanding the obstacle mentioned, there can be no question that the teaching of the Socialist Labor Party is gaining ground among the Bulgarian workers. To judge by the great efforts on the part of forces that are bent on hindering our work, the progress we are making must be even greater than we are aware of. As is well known, we, too, have a full quota of the confusionist or anarcho-communist type. Under the lash of our relentless criticism, this crowd was forced to abandon one position after another, and by the end of 1937 it was completely bankrupt, both for lack of funds and program. Early in 1938 a new scheme was concocted in order to start them anew. The scheme was to bury their old and highly discredited sheet and start a new one, but with no program what-

soever, so long as it was free to advocate anything in general and nothing in particular. It was figured, no doubt, that this would be a better method for spreading confusion. There is no doubt that the scheme was concocted somewhere in Europe, as along came a so-called trained journalist, to act as chief editor. And there is hardly any doubt that our 'friend,' George Dimitroff, had a finger in it.

"And just about the time the above scheme was concocted, the Bulgarian Government thought for the first time of doing something for the Bulgarians in this country, and decided to establish here a diocese of the Bulgarian state church. The Bulgarians started coming to this country in considerable numbers some 35 or 40 years ago. And up to about 80 years ago there were in this country two or three times as many Bulgarians as there are at present. Yet, never before was any thought given to establishing a diocese in this country and sending a staff of priests. Evidently the politicians scent that the workers are on the verge of completely losing faith in the capitalist system, so they have rushed priests to promise them heaven, in order to keep them away from the revolutionary movement.

"Perhaps it is worth noting in this connection that, as soon as the bishop arrived, George Dimitroff's boys started flirting with him, offering him their support if he would work for the unity of the Bulgarians—and for peace and democracy, for good measure. Of course, nothing strange about that. The two forces having the same object—hindering the workers' revolutionary movement—there is no good reason why they

should not work in unison.

"All this tends to show that our agitation is increasingly taking root among a greater number. And we need not judge by that method, for we know this to be a fact.

"As mentioned above, since 1936 two Branches have been disbanded. These are Toronto, Ontario, and Minneapolis, Minn. We have at present 20 Branches located in the following cities: Detroit, Mich.; Toledo, Cleveland, Akron, Mansfield and Lorain, Ohio; Chicago, Waukegan, Zeigler and Granite City, Ill.; New York City, Lackawanna and Syracuse, N.Y.; Gary and Ft. Wayne, Ind.; St. Louis, Mo.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Portland, Ore.; and Hamilton, Ontario.

"For the period reported: Dues stamps purchased 10,600, and exemptions furnished 1,700.

"The financial standing of the Federation, as per balance sheet of November 11 last, is as follows: Cash on hand, \$1,790.06; Machinery and equipment, \$2,221.40; Stock, \$3,440; Accounts receivable, \$1,231.33; Real Estate, \$9,733.90; Total, \$18,416.69. Receipts and Expenditures for the four years ending November 11 last: Cash on hand from 1935, \$1,147.24; Receipts, \$51,926.87; Expenditures, \$51,284.05. Cash on hand November 11, \$1,790.06.

"The following pamphlets have been translated and published in Bulgarian since the last convention: 'Proletarian Democracy vs. Dictatorships and Despotism,' 'John L. Lewis Exposed,' 'Soviet Russia, Promise or Menace,' and 'Down with War.'

"To complete the report I wish to record the great loss the organiza-

tion had to undergo in the death of our valiant comrade and editor of our official organ for 22 consecutive years, S. S. Saralief. Having been not only instrumental in founding the Federation, but one of the few who organized the first Socialist group in this country, he had devoted all his energy and ability to the upbuilding of the movement. He took the editorship at the time when affiliation with the Socialist Labor Party was under discussion, and he filled that office well. As Editor, his energy and endurance were almost inexhaustible. Because of all this, his passing away was a great loss to the organization.

"Faternally submitted,
(Signed) "Theo. Baeff,
"National Secretary.

"Granite City, Ill.,
"March 28, 1940."

REPORT OF THE HUNGARIAN FEDERATION.

"Dear Comrade Petersen:

"The reaction was working overtime last year to frighten the Hungarian-speaking workers from reading radical or Socialist literature, an easy matter with reaction rampant in the whole nation. There are about 100 anti-alien and anti-working class bills still pending in Congress.

"The capitalists are playing into the hands of the Hungarian reactionaries. When, in some local elections, petitions were circulated for independent candidates, the local papers published the names of those who signed, giving hints that they would be fired from the factories. This scared those who are without any

backbone. The Hungarian reactionary papers even spread the lie that any alien who subscribes to any radical or red paper would be deported. Even those who are naturalized were afraid. In spite of these obstacles we were doing our duty teaching Hungarian fellow workers their own class interests and trying to arouse them for activity against their enemies who try to divide them on false nationalistic and capitalist issues.

"There was a slight decrease in the membership in 1939. We have now a total of 100 members in 9 Branches in the following cities: Los Angeles, Calif.; Bridgeport and South Norwalk, Conn.; Detroit, Mich.; New York, N.Y.; Akron, Cleveland and Lorain, Ohio; Pittsburgh-Hazelwood, Pa. We have lost a Branch in San Francisco, Calif.

"The members purchased a total of 1,028 dues stamps and asked for 220 exemption stamps.

"We feel that some of the second generation, sons and daughters of members and sympathizers, are lost to us, because they join the Sections directly. This leaves some of our Branches in lack of the required new blood for the increasing need of activity. In spite of this handicap we are trying to do our best because we feel sure that our time will come when the great amount of work done by the Federation in its 30 years of existence will bear fruit and the Hungarian workers will join us in increasing numbers, convinced that only the S.L.P. knows and shows the way out of the wilderness of capitalism.

"We have five A Munkas Clubs as auxiliaries with about 50 members. These Clubs cooperate with other Party Clubs to raise funds for the

Party for state or for national activities.

"Here I may mention that, in my view, which is shared by the Subcommittee of the Federation, the recent ruling by the N.E.C.'s Subcommittee, in making it mandatory for the Weekly People Clubs to support only Party funds and not any of the Language Federations, was an unwise one. In certain localities it would be beneficial for these Clubs, and the Party as a whole, if the Weekly People Clubs would occasionally send donations for the activity of the Language Federations.

"As the year of 1940 is our 30th Anniversary, preparations are made for nationwide celebrations, and for raising funds to pay our debts, and to have enough to carry on. Although we have to solve our own financial difficulties, we will not forget the National Campaign Fund and will contribute to it according to our ability.

"This year we shall publish a '50 years and 30 years' anniversary magazine, instead of our annual First of May magazine, celebrating both the Party's Golden Jubilee and the Federation's Anniversary.

"Our sale of literature—including income from advertisements in the First of May magazine—was \$1,072.90 in 1939.

"We had a total income of:

"In 1936, \$7,445.35; in 1937, \$6,707.01; in 1938, \$6,410.16; in 1939, \$6,901.51.

"The Federation's contributions to the National Office of the Party for dues and assessment stamps and for the different funds were:

"In 1936, \$878.27; in 1937, \$582.24; in 1938, \$443.10; in 1939, \$364.76.

"The main items of our income were:

"In 1936: Subscriptions, \$1,890.72; donations, \$2,703.93; dues, \$398.50; literature, \$725.62; organizer fund, \$602.83.

"In 1937: Subscriptions, \$1,640.86; donations, \$2,813.93; dues, \$357.65; literature, \$885.91; organizer fund, \$242.72.

"In 1938: Subscriptions, \$1,565.16; donations, \$2,835.08; dues, \$321.90; literature, \$1,031.18; organizer fund, \$161.14.

"In 1939: Subscriptions, \$1,725.11; donations, \$2,620.28; dues, \$312; literature, \$1,072.90; organizer fund, \$716.46.

"We are publishing some of the Party's standard leaflets every year. Last year we printed two of the radio-censored speeches on war, 3,000 copies each. We also published one pamphlet, 'Down with War!' in 1,500 copies, which is almost sold by now.

"We had two organizers in the field in 1939, Comrades George Horvath and John Guyas, both of Akron, Ohio. They travelled several thousand miles, held public meetings and secured a considerable number of new subscriptions to *A Munkas* and sold literature. Both were successful in breaking new ground in some localities where the reaction was very strong.

"The Federation had a successful annual convention in Bridgeport, Conn. This year the convention will be held in Cleveland, Ohio.

"At the last convention a budget plan was worked out to secure a steady income for the Federation for its activities. Although this plan was adopted by the membership on a referendum vote, so far it has

not shown any improvement in our financial matters. Perhaps the adverse economic conditions overruled our plan. Nevertheless, we have to adhere to it if we want to keep our weekly paper and organization, thus to fulfill our duties as revolutionary Socialists, to teach the Hungarian workers the principles of De Leonism, the only hope for the whole working class to emancipate itself from the yoke of wage slavery.

"Fraternally submitted,
(Signed) "Alex Kudlik,
"National Secretary."

"March 22, 1940."

The above was accompanied with a financial report for the year 1939 which is here summarized:

Total income, \$6,901.51; carried over from 1938, \$84.16; total, \$6,985.67. Total expenditures, \$6,829.95; balance on hand, \$155.72. Total indebtedness of the Federation on December 31, 1939, for printing *A Munkas* and for salary, \$1,330.

REPORT OF THE SOUTH SLAVONIAN FEDERATION.

"To the Twentieth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party.

"Dear Comrades:

"According to our report to the 1936 National Convention of the Party, the Federation was composed at that time of 22 Branches with 'about 300' members, while on December 31, 1939, it had 19 Branches with 204 members. On the basis of these figures, the Federation lost almost a third of its membership during the past four years—or, to be

more correct, during less than one year's time. For the figure of 'about 300' was repeated in the Federation Executive Committee's report to the Federation Convention in September, 1936, while the report of the same body to the Federation Convention of 1937 (which report was prepared, after a patient study of this matter, two months previous to the convention), was able to show a total membership of only 223. No such loss in membership actually occurred at the time. The figure of 'about 300' was an exaggeration—and as such exaggeration it was noted by the 1937 Federation Convention itself. Actual loss in the Federation membership during the past four years was between 20 and 25. Loss in membership during 1939 was 6. The loss is mainly due to deaths and expulsions for acts unbecoming members of the S.L.P.

"Of 19 Branches that compose the Federation at the present time, three were permitted to function with fewer than the required minimum of members—in the hope that this deficiency would in time be repaired. This hope was not altogether vain, since a year ago the number of Branches without the required minimum of members was five—with same total number of Branches as now. Branches are located in the following cities: Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, Steubenville and Youngstown, Ohio; Chicago and Bellwood, Ill.; East Chicago and Gary, Ind.; Detroit, Mich.; Hoboken, N.J.; New York and Lackawanna, N.Y.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Philadelphia, Pa.; St. Louis, Mo.; and Hamilton, Ont., Canada. To the Branches we can add, as their valuable assistants, two

groups in South America—one in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and the other in Montevideo, Uruguay. They were organized a decade or so ago and are tenaciously sticking, in spite of particularly unfavorable conditions, to the teaching of the Socialist Labor Party. To the Branches we can also add, likewise as valuable assistants, four *Radnicka Borba* Clubs—one in Detroit, one in Chicago, one in Milwaukee, and one in East Chicago, Ind.—whose great value to the Federation, as sources of material aid and as objects of inspiration to the membership, can hardly be overestimated. With a history of only a short period behind them, these Clubs were able to increase the general collection for *Radnicka Borba* and the *WEEKLY PEOPLE* at the 1939 Federation convention by \$816.25, and this at the time when our Branches in the same cities, on their own account, came forward with larger donations than the previous year (when the Clubs were not yet organized).

"Generally speaking, Branches and members are fairly active—some of them inspiringly so. (Exceptions are three of them with fewer than the required minimum of members.) While their activity stretches throughout the year, it reaches its pinnacle at convention time each year. Even outwardly, our conventions are far more imposing affairs than anything that the South Slavonian reaction is able, even with its united efforts, to organize in the same cities. An outsider watching our conventions could never imagine that two hundred men and women could produce a 'show' of such magnitude, splendor and influence. And this 'show' is being repeated many

times during the year, only on a somewhat smaller (and not always smaller) scale, in a number of cities. And the outsider will never leave our affair without being deeply impressed with the fact that these affairs are not organized by 'show people' and for mercenary purposes, but that they are organized for the purpose of preparing our class for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the inauguration of a better social order.

"No disturbances or serious misunderstandings are visible anywhere in the Federation. Understanding of the Party teachings on the part of the membership can be relied on. The membership enthusiastically observes and jealously guards Party discipline. Their cooperation with the Federation National Office is constantly improving. Above all, they are straining all their efforts toward increasing and improving their cooperation with Sections and other language groups. Especially is nothing permitted to justify the lack of cooperation with Sections—not even those numerous specific activities and obligations that go with the maintenance of the Federation itself—since it is generally recognized, and ever emphasized, that the very reason for existence of our language subdivisions is to facilitate the general work and growth of the Socialist Labor Party.

"Understanding of the Party teachings and loyalty to the Party on the part of the Federation membership were again magnificently attested during the past few months. The open alliance of Moscow rulers with the Nazi butchers and the invasion of Finland, not to mention other shameless acts on the part of the

former, were generally accepted by members of the Slav race—by rich and poor alike, even more by the poor than by the rich—as altogether ‘proper’ and ‘justified.’ The Slav bourgeoisie and its lackeys saw in those acts, perhaps with good reason, a resurgence in Russia of their beloved ‘Pan-Slavism.’ Slav ‘workers and peasants,’ partly because they are still in good measure ‘Slavs,’ that is, mental and emotional victims of the Slav plutocracy, and partly because they could not see the radical difference between the Russia of Lenin, to which they originally gave a measure of their sentimental devotion, and the Russia of Stalin, which is polluting all that was pure and destroying all that was glorious in the Socialist Revolution of Russia—readily swallowed the Stalinist lie: That it is the Red Army on its march to ‘liberate the workers and peasants of the world.’ This lie was all the more palatable to them since it was accepted and repeated not only by Stalin’s official dummies in this country, but also by all other pseudo-radical groups and individuals of ‘Slav birth, without exception.

“Only a general disgust, however, was the Moscow infamy able to produce among the ‘Slavs’ of the S.L.P. Even before the Red Army started to ‘liberate the workers and peasants’ of Finland with lead and gas and fire, while it was as yet only receiving ‘great ovations’ from ‘our Ukrainian brothers’ for the uninvited ‘liberation,’ they condemned that ‘liberation’ with strongest terms, written and spoken, from the vocabulary of Marxism-De Leonism. After all, was not this Red Army ‘liberation’ in Poland one of the direct consequences of the Stalin-Hitler un-

holy alliance? The same disgust the ‘Slavs’ of the S.L.P. are now injecting into ever wider layers of those Slav workers who at first were applauding the Moscow infamy. These latter now patiently listen to our condemnation of Soviet imperialism and greet our speeches with applause. Proletarian class instinct, plus our agitation and propaganda, is getting the upper hand over plutocratic race instinct, with its Anarcho-Communist and other pseudo-radical snares and delusions.

“While the Federation is enjoying great respect and exercising wide influence among the South Slavonian workers of this country, this fact, unfortunately, is not reflected in the mailing list of our official organ, *Radnicka Borba*. On the contrary, the number of subscribers to *Radnicka Borba* is slowly but almost steadily decreasing. Best available figures place the number of subscribers for 1936 at 1,567; for 1937 at 1,540; for 1938 and March, 1939, at around 1,400. The present number of subscribers is around 1,200. To make the situation worse, toward the end of December, 1939, the Canadian Government prohibited the entry of *Radnicka Borba* (and our yearly Almanac) into that country. An attempt was made, with the assistance of the Party’s National Office, to learn the reason for this ban, but no intelligent reply was received from the Canadian authorities.

“The Federation’s Executive Committee is giving the mailing list problem their most serious attention. Various methods have been tried to stop the fall and increase the mailing list, but so far without permanent success. Further efforts will be made in the same direction. A way should

be found to eliminate the contradiction of wide Federation influence among South Slavonian workers and a falling mailing list of *Radnicka Borba*. If the said influence is inherited from earlier years when the mailing list of *Radnicka Borba* went up to over 4,000, a way should and, we believe, will be found to reawaken the interest of those workers for their former beloved teacher.

“Three national organizers were kept in the field for longer or shorter periods during the four years: Comrades R. M. Albijanich, M. Tomic (who is again in the field now), and Joseph Pirincin (who was at the same time working for the National Organization). In former years it was relatively easy for the Federation to keep one or more organizers in the field, since they practically covered their own expenses. It was much easier then to sell literature, get subs, and make substantial collections. Now, all this is very difficult. The workers are ready to listen to the message of the S.L.P., but when it comes to literature, subs, and donations, it is a different story. Still, this important branch of our activity must go on, although the Federation Executive Committee is compelled, because of ever greater expenses involved, to go about it far more cautiously than in previous years. In the meantime, the Branches are constantly urged to cover even those territories which in former years were generally covered by a Federation national organizer.

“In the field of literature, the Federation has published, beside its voluminous yearly Almanac, a number of Party pamphlets during the past four years, approaching some 30,000

copies. At this time a translation is being made of ‘The Stalinist Corruption of Marxism,’ by Comrade Arnold Petersen, and it will come out in print in a few weeks.

“Twelve of the Branches are conducting study classes at present—ten of them once a week, and two of them twice a month. While these study classes are an old institution in the Federation, almost as old as the Federation itself, they are more general, better organized and conducted now than in the past. Our old study classes, however, had one advantage over the present ones: They never lacked in young material to work on, while the present ones are practically deprived of such material. But there is far more than consolation for this in the fact that a good proportion of our second generation have found their place in the Sections or in their study classes.

“During the past four years a total of \$11,951.41 was sent to the National Headquarters in New York for various Party funds, namely: For the WEEKLY PEOPLE, \$4,783.30; for the Moving Fund, \$910.50; for the National Campaign Fund of 1936, \$3,642.13 (compared to \$2,381.94 sent for the National Campaign Fund of 1932); for mileage stamps, \$1,149; for dues stamps, \$860; and for other funds, \$606.48.

“For 1936, 1938 and 1939 the Federation received from the Party National Office 1,252 exemption stamps for our unemployed members, while for 1937 no record was found.

“From December 31, 1935, to December 31, 1939, total receipts of the Federation amounted to \$55,960.20, including the balance on hand on December 31, 1935, of

\$505.47. They came from the following sources, or for the following purposes:

"From *Radnicka Borba* subs, \$8,-825.99; Voluntary donations, \$18,-158.44; From literature sold, \$6,227.-97; From dues stamps, \$3,257.63; From ads. in Almanac, \$3,895.20; From bundles of *Radnicka Borba*, \$420.03; From various other sources, \$2,718.06; For various Party funds, \$11,951.41.

"Total disbursements for the same four years amounted to \$54,001.12. Balance on hand on December 31, 1939, \$1,959.08.

"Although generally known throughout the Party, it may be in order to mention here also the change of officials at the Federation headquarters.

[At this point a reference is made to the misconduct in and subsequent removal from office of the former Secretary of the South Slavonian Socialist Labor Federation. This being a public document, the details are omitted.]

"Since Comrade Tomich refused the nomination for the same post at the Federation convention of the same year, and since other members of the Federation also refused the nomination for the same post, Comrade N. Stanich, then a member of Section Chicago, was elected as Federation Secretary.

"At the Federation convention of 1938, after the former editor of *Radnicka Borba*, Comrade L. Petrovich, was compelled to refuse renomination for reasons of health, Comrade Stanich was elected editor, while the undersigned was elected Federation Secretary. The Federation convention of 1939 reelected the

same two comrades for their respective posts.

"A great amount of time and energy was necessary to bring order out of the accumulated chaos at Federation headquarters, caused by the negligence, misconduct, etc., of the said Malencich. At the present time Federation national headquarters present a far different picture from that of three or more years ago. It is now worthy of the splendid membership of the Federation and deserves the high name of an institution of the Socialist Labor Party.

"Fraternally submitted,
(Signed) "P. Slepcevlch,
"National Secretary."

It is regretfully noted that so far as organized activity among the Greek workers in this country is concerned, it has virtually ceased. The one or two Branches we had have lapsed, the members having joined the Sections, where they did not drop out altogether. It is a great pity that this is so, for we have considerable Greek S.L.P. literature in stock, which should be circulated, and which could be circulated if it were possible to maintain one or two nuclei and some sort of a central office to supervise or direct this particular work. It seems that a way must be found of continuing the fine work of the past, which, as stated, has now been interrupted for reasons not made sufficiently clear at this time.

That considerable sentiment has been created for the S.L.P. among the Greek workers, wherever activities were carried on in an organized manner, goes without saying. One

of the proofs of that is found in the fact that in and around New York City an amount upward of half a thousand dollars has been pledged and collected among Greek workers for the National Pre-Convention Fund. It is hoped that mention of this fact may stimulate Greek S.L.P. workers in other large industrial centers to go out and plant the S.L.P. seed in the soil so richly fertilized in the past by S.L.P. original spade-work.

Comrade Peter Coroneos, heretofore General Secretary of the Greek S.L.P. movement in this country, recently struck an extremely pessimistic note with regard to the future of the Greek S.L.P. movement, by declaring that he had abandoned hope of any such Greek S.L.P. movement reappearing. Comrade Coroneos in the main justified his pessimism on the ground that the old generation of Greek workers was dying out; that the second generation had become American; and that the immigration restrictions had stopped the influx of workers from the old country. He cited, in partial proof of his contention, that a capitalist commentator had observed that there are not even 10,000 readers in the United States of Greek dailies. In answer to Comrade Coroneos's comments, the National Secretary in part replied as follows:

"If there are even 10,000 in the United States (or nearly so) who read the Greek dailies, we certainly have a prospective S.L.P. audience there of at least two or three thousand, out of which it should be possible, if properly and effectively addressed, the time otherwise being ripe, to secure supporters of a hundred or two hundred at least. What

is needed, I believe, is for somebody with the time and ability to take the lead in this work, and see that the S.L.P. Greek literature is distributed and that the work is followed up properly and consistently."

The problem, of course, remains to find that "somebody," or those few who are able, and who have the time, to devote to this important work. We feel that there is every reason to expect that with proper efforts a Greek S.L.P. movement may eventually, and perhaps sooner than may now seem possible, be established.

Hopes had been entertained for the organizing of a Ukrainian Socialist Labor Federation, and the prospects for such a Federation remain as bright as ever, if not brighter. Unfortunately, however, the leading member of the Ukrainian group already in existence, which group is almost entirely committed to the S.L.P. program, took ill. This leading member is also the editor of the paper published by that group. His illness prevented his making the tour that had been planned. However, Comrade Zarembo, our S.L.P. Ukrainian literature translator and distributor (and general "contact man" with these Ukrainian workers) has submitted a brief statement on this situation, which follows herewith:

"April 2, 1940.

"Dear Comrade Petersen:

"Your letter of March 25 received. The reason I didn't write you up to this time was that there was nothing special to report. But that doesn't mean that S.L.P. agitation has stopped among Ukrainian workers in Akron or other places. I do all that

I can, realizing that the time is such that we must do our work with double energy. I maintain correspondence with individuals here and there, and try all I can to sell Ukrainian S.L.P. literature where I can.

"In my last letter to you I informed you that when I visited Nicholas Ceglinsky [leading member and editor of Ukrainian group in the United States] last summer, we made plans for Ceglinsky to go on an agitational tour, starting last October. And at the end of December we planned to call a convention and organize a Ukrainian Federation. But because of Ceglinsky's health he was unable to go on an agitational tour, and also unable to edit the Ukrainian monthly journal, *Robitnycha Hromada* (Workers' Community). I am informed that he is not yet in good health.

"Those Ukrainian groups in Akron, Ohio; Boston, Mass.; and Newark, N.J., about which I informed you some time ago, are still existing. Here in Akron members of that Ukrainian group take S.L.P. knowledge very seriously. They are studying S.L.P. literature, some articles from the WEEKLY PEOPLE, attending S.L.P. lectures and entertainments. They also help local activities of the S.L.P. financially. At their last meeting they decided to donate \$10 to the Ohio state convention collection, and also \$25 to the national convention collection April 27.

"The situation among Ukrainian workers in the United States and Canada is such that all kinds of fakers are busier now than ever before. Since the Red Army of the Soviet Union brought freedom for their

Ukrainian brothers from the Polish yoke,' Ukrainian 'communists' in the United States are having a 'good time.' They are touring just like on a 'honeymoon,' telling the Ukrainian workers that it is the end of hell for their brothers in Poland since the Red Army came and started heaven. On the other hand, so-called patriots tell the Ukrainian workers that a 'national catastrophe' has happened, and they 'must call upon American democracy to help establish a Ukrainian Republic, similar to the United States, and that such republic will be for the benefit of the United States.' All the fakers have united now and are calling a Ukrainian National Congress at Washington, D.C., for the purpose of collecting money and really throwing sand in the eyes of the Ukrainian workers. Common horse-sense tells us that the Ukrainian workers and peasants under former Polish rule lost nothing, because they had nothing, and have gained nothing special since the Red Army came.

"With such conditions existing among the Ukrainian workers I am anxiously waiting for Ceglinsky's health to improve, and for the Ukrainian monthly journal to explain matters from a scientific Socialist viewpoint, such as that of the S.L.P., and I hope that in the near future we shall have a Ukrainian Federation of the S.L.P. With this end in view, I do all that I can to spread S.L.P. knowledge among the Ukrainian workers and to try to bring them into the S.L.P.

"Fraternally yours,
(Signed) "R. Zarembo."

Following receipt of Comrade Zarembo's report, a letter was re-

ceived from the secretary of the Ukrainian group in Akron, O., accompanied with a contribution of \$25 to the Party's National Campaign Fund. The following is quoted from the letter written by the secretary of the Akron Ukrainian group, in which he expresses the virtual acceptance of S.L.P. principles and program by the members of his group:

"You are informed of the existence of the Ukrainian group in Akron, designated the Ukrainian Workers Community. Our group is organized for the purpose of clarifying ourselves with regard to Scientific Socialism in the United States, following which we intend to join and take active part in the activities of the political party of true Scientific Socialism. We are studying the literature of the Socialist Labor Party, and we are interested in the local, state and national activities of the Socialist Labor Party. We are convinced that the Socialist Labor Party deserves our moral and financial support. Our members attend the lectures and entertainments of the Section and Federation Branches of the Socialist Labor Party in Akron. At our recent meeting we decided to donate \$10 to the South Slavonian Branch of the S.L.P. for their Golden Jubilee banquet (March 17), \$10 to the Section and Federation Golden Jubilee entertainment (March 3), and \$10 to the Ohio state convention (April 7). We also decided to contribute \$25 for the national Golden Jubilee Convention banquet (April 27), in furtherance of the noble work which the Socialist Labor Party intends to accomplish."

If the spirit of this communication

expresses the understanding and sentiments of these Ukrainian branches in the United States, there is every reason to anticipate the early formation of a Ukrainian Socialist Labor Federation. It goes without saying that the National Office will follow up the possibilities of bringing to a realization the organizing of such a Ukrainian Socialist Labor Federation as soon as conditions and circumstances are propitious for same.

GENERAL.

On the basis of the foregoing, there are eighty-nine Sections, twelve State Executive Committees, a Canadian Executive Committee, and three Foreign Language Federations with a total of forty-eight Branches. During the year, one Section lapsed, and four new Sections were organized.

We have a total of 76 study classes, divided as follows: 45 for beginners, 23 for advanced students, and 8 unclassified. It should be noted that most of these study classes, of course, did not function the year round.

The old Study Class Course prepared by the former Editor was found defective in several important respects, and it was found impossible to correct it without virtually having to rewrite entire sections. This, in turn, led to a reconsideration of the form and substance of the Study Course, and finally, with the approval of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee, our Editor, Comrade Eric Hass, has prepared, and is preparing, a series of "Lessons," some of which have appeared in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, the idea being to print all the Les-

sons, as they are finished, in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and subsequently gather them in a permanent form. To date twenty-three Lessons have been prepared and approved by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee, twenty-two of which have been printed in the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

We have today altogether twenty-four Weekly People Clubs attached to various Sections throughout the country, which have been instrumental in rendering substantial financial support to the National Organization. Through these Weekly People Clubs a total of nearly \$1,500 was raised during 1939.

In order to certify in a more definite and complete manner to membership in these Weekly People Clubs, the National Office prepared and printed Weekly People Club membership cards and dues stamps, which are supplied free to the Clubs, either direct or through the Sections, as the case may be. The Clubs are under obligation to keep the Sections, under whose control they function, posted as to the number of dues stamps sold during the year to the Club members, and generally to keep the Section regularly informed through the Section's delegate, or otherwise, as to the activities and plans of the Club.

A complete list of Study Classes and Weekly People Clubs will be appended to the printed copy of this report.

To enable the National Office to secure exact information concerning the essential activities of the subdivisions, and in an easily comprehended form, the National Office had printed Monthly Section Activity reports. This system of reporting was first instituted with the beginning of

the year 1939, but the form then adopted was found lacking in several important respects, apart from its being rather difficult to handle, especially for those using typewriters. Beginning with the year 1940, accordingly, a new form was devised, which is now in use and which, it is felt, is a considerable improvement over the old form.

For the purpose of permanent record, a copy of this monthly Section Activity report form will be appended to the printed copy of this Convention Report.

Copies of these Section Activity reports are supplied to the State Executive Committees and N.E.C. members, one copy, of course, being sent to the National Office, and one copy remaining in the Section's files. It is, of course, important that the State Executive Committees are kept posted also on the Section's activities. This suggests the desirability of the minutes of the State Executive Committee sessions being supplied to the Sections in the state, so that they in turn may be kept posted on what the S.E.C. is planning and doing. Such minutes should also be supplied to the N.E.C. members.

Referring to these minutes, it is suggested that all routine matters and references be eliminated from the typed minutes, since these only take up space, and are of no particular interest except for the records of the S.E.C. The Illinois S.E.C., as well as the New York S.E.C., practises the sending out to the Sections in the state what they call "Short Form Minutes." This seems a good practise and all State Committees should follow it. Parenthetically it might be added here that the National Office reviews the minutes

of all the State Executive Committees, and in order for the National Office to keep posted, these minutes are read regularly. If all the purely routine or incidental references are eliminated from such minutes, the time required to read them is reduced very considerably, apart from the fact that the important acts of the S.E.C. stand out prominently, reducing the possibility of overlooking such important acts.

*

Among the various methods of conveying the message of the Party to the public in general, the letters to the daily papers rank among the most effective. More and more members are engaging in this important work, but much more can be done if the letter-writing is properly planned and supervised by the Section. Of course, the person signing a certain letter need not necessarily be the author of that letter. The N.E.C. made some rulings in this connection, among which should be noted that, wherever possible and deemed necessary and advisable, the letters written by members to the press should be submitted to the Section for approval before being mailed. This insures not only avoidance of errors, but also gives reasonable assurance of proper presentation of the subject and avoidance of duplication.

*

Leaflet-distribution is, of course, among the most important of our outdoor activities. There is one point in this connection which should be noted, and to which the attention of the Sections has been called several times. Every now and then members, or perhaps sympathizers, have placed leaflets in private letter-boxes, which has resulted in our re-

ceiving warnings from the Post Office that to do so is in violation of the Postal Laws and Regulations. To refresh this matter in our minds again we are reproducing herewith excerpt of the Postal Regulations covering this point:

"Whoever shall knowingly or willfully deposit anyailable matter such as statements of accounts, circulars, sale bills, or other like matter, on which no postage has been paid, in any letter box established, approved, or accepted by the Postmaster General for the receipt or delivery of mail matter on any mail route with intent to avoid payment of lawful postage thereon; or shall willfully aid or assist in any of the aforementioned offenses, shall for every such offense be punished by a fine of not more than \$300."

*

Some doubt has arisen as to whether or not Sections are keeping in close and constant contact with their out-of-town members-at-large. Some of the reasons for entertaining some doubts on the point are that during the last year or so quite a few out-of-town members-at-large have been dropped for non-payment of dues, suggesting the possibility that the Sections may not have maintained that close contact which is necessary in order to maintain the interest of members-at-large residing in isolated parts, or that at least this contact may not have been as close as when these members were S.E.C. members-at-large. There are also some indications that these members, in some cases at least, may not be as active as Section members-at-large as they were as S.E.C. members-at-large. It will be remembered that the S.E.C. membership-at-large was abolished in

1936 as a direct result of the California disruption, it having then been realized that for State Executive Committees to exercise disciplinary jurisdiction over members led to all sorts of abuses or undesirable situations and developments. The recent Washington State Convention also passed a resolution proposing that these Section members-at-large be again placed under the disciplinary jurisdiction of the S.E.C. Since there were solid reasons for making the change in 1936, and since these reasons still exist, it certainly does not seem desirable to go back to the old method. Nevertheless, it may be possible to effect an arrangement that would furnish assurance that isolated members-at-large are kept in sufficiently close contact with Party activities and with the body having jurisdiction over them, without necessarily restoring the S.E.C.'s disciplinary jurisdiction. The arrangement now is that the names and addresses of all Section members-at-large in a state are placed on file with the State Secretary, whose duty it is to keep in touch with these members-at-large, and to suggest and induce them to carry on certain activities in their locality, etc. It is not clear why, with this arrangement in effect, it is not reasonable to expect of such members-at-large to do as much work, or to carry on the same activities, as Section members-at-large as they did or would do as S.E.C. members-at-large. Certainly, the mere technicality of paying dues into a distant Section rather than into an equally distant S.E.C. does not seem to furnish an explanation for what does seem to be a phenomenon, if our assumption and conclusions are otherwise well founded.

Party Membership.

The membership remains substantially unchanged. While a few were lost through expulsion, non-payment of dues, death, etc., new members joined, making up for these losses. So far the war, the Stalinist treason, and the increased interference with our legitimate activities by the authorities have had little, if any, effect on our members, except that on the whole these events have strengthened the determination of our members to carry on with increased vigor. When the war broke out last fall, no one knew the course it would take, and naturally the prospect of the United States becoming immediately involved occupied our thoughts, with the repercussions this would have on the labor movement, and possibly on our own organization. The virtual stalemate which ensued in the war has undoubtedly been the cause of so little, comparatively speaking, fireworks being set off, so that on the whole the international situation has become somewhat of a humdrum affair. Which is not to say that propaganda to drag the United States into the war is lacking, but that is another story.

At any rate, while we must always expect a few "casualties" in the revolutionary movement when a world war breaks out, there have been none such so far as the S.L.P. is concerned—at least those few who withdrew, or allowed themselves to be dropped for non-payment of dues, did not admit that the war situation and its repercussions on civil liberties in this country, or in Canada, had anything to do with their withdrawal. As was stated in a letter to the subdivisions last November: "Do some in our ranks drop by the way-

side, or take to the woods for what they fondly, but blindly and foolishly, may think is safety? The rest of us must then take on the extra burden, adding still more to the load for good measure, wasting neither time nor breath with scolding or persuading those who grew tired, or whom nature in her ill-humor afflicted with the souls of cowards!"

The sale of dues stamps for the four-year period beginning 1936 was as follows (cents omitted):

1936	\$4,613
1937	4,567
1938	\$4,300
1939	4,321

Or, roughly, \$18,000 for the four years.

During the past year we supplied exemption stamps in a total quantity of 3,448, distributed as follows:

1939	(1938)	(1937)	(1936*)
State Executive Committees			
9,049	2,630	2,150	2,640
Canadian Executive Committee			
800	200	190	
Federations			
650	1,100	900	800
"Isolated" Sections			
267	173	167	193
National members-at-large			
182	216	235	291
3,448	4,319	3,642	3,924

This makes a total for the four years of 15,333, as compared with the four-year period of 1932-1935 of approximately 30,000 exemption stamps furnished.

For the purpose of comparison it might be noted that during the year 1935 a total of 30,600 dues stamps

*From April 1, 1936—March 31, 1937.

and exemption stamps was furnished, while during the year 1939 the total for dues stamps and exemption stamps was not quite 23,000.

Party Press and Literature.

I. WEEKLY PEOPLE.

The WEEKLY PEOPLE sales during the year 1939 (with comparisons for the three preceding years) were as follows (cents omitted):

1939	.....	\$11,350
1938	.....	\$10,567
1937	.....	\$10,593
1936	(from April 1	
1936, to March 31,		
1937)	.....	\$14,217

This makes a total of \$46,727 for the four-year period, as compared with \$50,671 for the preceding four-year period.

Discounting the 1936 campaign year, it will thus be seen that since 1937, in point of sales as expressed in dollars and cents, the WEEKLY PEOPLE has more than held its own. During the three first months of this year the sales were as follows (with corresponding figures of a year ago):

1940	.....	\$2,448.97
1939	.....	\$2,360.02

During the year of 1939 we printed a total of nearly 360,000 copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. The May Day issue of 1939 was printed in an edition of approximately 24,000, and the Labor Day edition of the same year numbered approximately 22,700.

Despite strenuous efforts, special WEEKLY PEOPLE sub. drives,

greatly improved appearance and contents of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, there has been no material increase in the subscription list. If the WEEKLY PEOPLE did not specifically represent the Socialist Labor Party; if it did not everlastingly "harp" on revolution; if it would cease its attacks on reforms and reformers; and, finally, if it would not be so insistent on Industrial Unionism, and show more tolerance toward craft unions and the labor fakers—fakers of all stripes, for that matter—there is every reason to suppose that the subscription list of the WEEKLY PEOPLE would greatly increase. But we might have summed up all these "ifs" in one collective one, and we would have the answer: If the WEEKLY PEOPLE would only cease being a consistent and persistent Marxian Socialist journal, our circulation would undoubtedly increase without much effort! But there's the rub! The workers generally have been fed so much reform pap these many years that the straight, undiluted S.L.P. Marxist fare still seems too strong for weakened intellectual stomachs! We say "seems," for the notion that the WEEKLY PEOPLE is too "strong" for the average intelligent, reading worker is, of course, altogether wrong. It is not that the WEEKLY PEOPLE is too "strong," but rather that it is *different* which causes so many to pass it up after having had a taste of it. Familiar faces, familiar sentiments, familiar songs—these are all so comforting to those who lack the spirit of intellectual adventure. And yet we live in a world of change that scarcely leaves anything for these intellectually timid minds to feed upon with regard to sustaining

the familiar and the traditional.

It has been said so often, but it is necessary to repeat it until there is need no longer of mentioning the point, that our own members and friends are in the front line of the factors that account for the WEEKLY PEOPLE'S failure to grow in point of circulation. There are so many things that each one can and should do. For one thing, every member and sympathizer should order a bundle of not less than five copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, disposing of them in these ways, among others:

(a) Placing two or more on newsstands in the neighborhood, guaranteeing dealer against loss.

(b) Mailing copies weekly to selected names on one's mailing list, accompanying same with a selected leaflet—a different one each week—including a WEEKLY PEOPLE advertising leaflet.

(c) Sell copies on the streets, and at public meetings, particularly so-called radical meetings, or from door to door.

Spectacular results should not be expected, but if persisted in intelligently, patiently, and over a sufficient number of weeks, with possible visits to those to whom papers were mailed, and careful supervision of newsstands sales, there are bound to be results. The recent WEEKLY PEOPLE Sub Contest shows that subscriptions *can* be secured. But securing subs is not enough: to hold them is the problem, and here the sub-getter can help substantially by keeping in touch with his "customer," discussing with him articles in current issues, clearing up points in doubt or misunderstood.

The WEEKLY PEOPLE Sub

Contest proved several things. It proved that subscriptions *can* be secured, but it also proved that the bulk of our membership does not take such contests seriously, and (what is even more disturbing) that they do not seem to take seriously the matter of getting new readers at all. The "Let George do it" spirit appears to be all too prevalent. One need possess no vivid imagination to visualize what the results would be if *everyone* would do what the faithful few did. Sermonizing and moralizing on such matters notoriously accomplish little, but surely persuasion and, above all, example should prove effective.

The Sub Contest was launched September 1 last year and was originally to terminate December 9. Because of the poor showing, however, the closing date of the contest was postponed to February 15, 1940.

For the sake of the record, the rules and a list of the prizes offered are reproduced here:

Rules of Contest.

1. The Sub-Drive is to be a contest among Sections of the Party.

2. The contest is to be called: WEEKLY PEOPLE SUB DRIVE.

3. Period of contest: September 1, 1939, through December 9, 1939 (all subs received from out-of-town Sections postmarked December 9, 1939, will be entered in the contest). Winners to be announced at the New York City De Leon Birthday meeting, December 14, 1939.

4. Prizes to be awarded to winning Sections on the basis of subscription sales pro-rated according to membership on the point system, each Section's quota to be on the basis of 500 points per member, or

the equivalent of an average of two annual subscriptions per member. Sections large and small, accordingly, will have an equal chance to win. A Section having 7 members which scores 3,500 points will lead a Section of 25 members having secured 5,000 points. That is, the smaller Section will have secured more subs *per member*.

5. Prizes to be awarded as follows:

(a) Winning Section—\$50 cash, or Underwood Portable Typewriter.

(b) 2nd Section—\$25 cash, or large De Leon Bronze Bust.

(c) 3rd Section—\$10 cash, or \$15 worth of Labor News literature (net).

(d) Highest ranking individual sub-getter—Set of beautiful original Bronze Book-Ends with relief portraits of Marx and De Leon.

(e) Individuals obtaining \$25 worth of subs—14 Karat Gold Arm and Hammer lady's pin or man's lapel emblem.

6. Contest to be based on point system, as follows: 1 year sub, 250 points; 6 months sub, 100 points; 3 months sub, 40 points.

Trial subs not to be accepted in the contest because of prohibitive expense and labor involved in handling numerous trial subs.

7. WEEKLY PEOPLE to start a publicity campaign about a month before the contest starts, and report status of contest weekly as follows:

(a) First 5 Sections as they rank in contest, on basis of *subs* obtained.

(b) First 5 Sections as they rank in contest, on basis of *points* obtained.

(c) Five leading individual members.

8. In case of ties, the same prizes will be awarded to tying contestants.

9. Each Section of the Party to elect a Weekly People Sub Drive Committee to spur on Section members, organize and direct the campaign, communicate with out-of-town members, and report regularly to the National Office.

Sections may be advised to use devices such as scoreboards, or thermometers, to keep the membership informed as to the progress of the Section.

10. Special sub-contest blanks to be printed especially for this contest.

11. Cash must accompany all subscriptions sent in for the contest, and prepaid subscription cards cannot be used.

12. Renewals received during the period of the contest are not to be counted in the contest—that is, they are not to be added to the “points.”

13. Subscriptions from Party members, whether they are renewals or “new” subscriptions, not to be counted in the contest.

14. (a) The members of local Study Classes and Weekly People Clubs are to be urged to participate in the contest, and the subscriptions secured by them, if sent through the Section, will be credited to the particular Section. It should be pointed out to the members of the Study Classes and Weekly People Clubs that while they cannot participate in the contest as groups (except as provided hereafter), the individual members of the Study Classes and Weekly People Clubs stand an even chance with any other member or sympathizer in winning the beautiful Bronze Book-Ends awarded to “the

highest ranking individual sub-getter.”

(b) Where there are Weekly People Clubs and Study Classes, under the direction either of the S.E.C. or the National Office, such Study Classes and groups may participate in this contest on the same basis as Sections, provided such groups have at least seven members, and provided further that they meet at regular intervals and carry on the functions for which they are designed, and, above all, if (as in some cases) they carry on in addition work regularly done by organized Sections.

The winning Sections were Boston; Lake County, Ind. (Gary, etc.); and St. Joseph County, Ind. (South Bend, Mishawaka, etc.). It should be added that two of the Sections winning the cash prizes decided to turn these into their National Campaign Fund quotas. There is some doubt about the “points” system being satisfactory in such a contest, since a small Section which does not even actively participate in the contest, or whose members, with the exception of one or two, fail to secure any at all, may be awarded a substantial prize for an actually small number of subscriptions secured. (Small, that is, in the absolute.) This question will be looked into carefully when the next contest is launched. For we should, of course, try again, and when we do it is to be hoped that the cooperation between the members and the National Office, and the consequent results, will be far greater than was the case in the recent contest.

A total of 876 new subscriptions was secured in the contest, amounting to \$1,035.60. They comprised 252 one-year subscriptions, 416 six-

month subscriptions, and 208 three-month subscriptions. The encouraging feature about these figures is that the bulk of the subscriptions were for six months and a year. Including cash prizes, the “cost” of the contest was approximately \$264.01. Exclusive of the cash prizes (that is, actual cost), the amount was approximately \$179.31. This cost would have been higher, of course, if Comrades Herzl and Feinberg had not contributed their talents and labors. Comrade Herzl also donated the beautiful De Leon busts which he himself had made. Account should also be taken of the fact that more prizes were made than were actually disposed of, leaving some for prizes in the next contest.

In announcing the extension of the Sub Contest December last, the National Office, in a letter to the subdivisions, stated:

“What better way of rounding out the half-cycle of faithful service and loyal devotion to working class interests, than by equipping the WEEKLY PEOPLE to continue that service on a greatly enlarged scale? As a reward for having labored hard in the furthering of working class emancipation, the WEEKLY PEOPLE only asks to be allowed to go on laboring harder than ever. Subs can be got—let us go and get them! As De Leon put it thirty-six long years ago:

“The WEEKLY PEOPLE has an illimitable field.... Sections and members-at-large may not fail.... to spread this seed-replete organ of the Evangel that has brought and that holds them together—the noblest Spartan band in the land.”

“The WEEKLY PEOPLE is still

that ‘seed-replete organ of the [Marxian Socialist] Evangel.’ Let us prove beyond anyone’s doubt that we are still worthy of the proud designation bestowed upon us by the immortal De Leon—‘the noblest Spartan band in the land.’ Let us demonstrate anew that the S.L.P. is more than ever like that Sparta of which Plutarch wrote:

“‘There thou beholdest the walls of Sparta and every man a brick.’”

We must never forget that, contest or no contest, it is the sacred duty of every member and convinced S.L.P. sympathizer to secure subscriptions to the WEEKLY PEOPLE. It is the one function in the life of an S.L.P. man that is not “seasonal.” As the chairman of the sub drive committee of Section Cumberland County, N.J., said when the contest finally closed in February:

“Even after February 15, WEEKLY PEOPLE readers will continue to be the most desirable single factor in the Revolutionary Movement; the Class Struggle won’t cease on February 15, nor should our efforts. For Section Cumberland County the Sub Drive contest will continue; the prize: abolition of the wages system.”

*

The bulk of subscriptions generally are, of course, to be found in the large industrial cities and states. In the order mentioned these states lead in point of WEEKLY PEOPLE subscribers: New York, Ohio, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, California, Michigan, Washington. In states where we have Sections (not including Washington, D.C.), Maryland and Kentucky compete for the tail-end position. And it should

be something for Maryland particularly to think about that in Iowa, where we have no Section, the number of subscribers is larger than in Maryland, with its large important city of Baltimore, with Section Baltimore in charge of promoting Socialist Labor Party activities, among which sub-getting is one of the most important.

As is generally known, a large 24-page Golden Jubilee edition of the WEEKLY PEOPLE is being prepared, and will, of course, be in circulation by the time this report is submitted. We can only hope that the members and sympathizers by that time will have rewarded the National and Editorial Offices for the great labor and care applied to this "golden" issue in the only way that this can be appreciated by those who labored, namely, by making it possible for us to print a larger edition of the WEEKLY PEOPLE than at any time during the forty-nine long years of the existence of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

II.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS.

Labor News sales for 1939 (with comparisons for the three preceding years) were as follows (cents omitted):

1939	\$ 7,582
1938	\$ 7,047
1937	\$ 7,590
1936*	\$12,050

This makes a total of \$34,269, as compared with approximately \$30,000 for the preceding four-year period.

*April 1, 1936-March 31, 1937. (Special campaign charges amounting to \$6,677—included; normal charges \$5,373.)

During the first three months of this year the sales amounted to \$1,226, as compared with \$1,564 for the same period a year ago.

From January 1, 1939, to March 31, 1940, the following pamphlets were printed:

January 1, '39—December 31, '39	
Capital and Labor, Arnold Petersen, 80 pp.	4,000
Communist Jesuitism, Arnold Petersen, 112 pp.	3,000
*Communist Manifesto, Marx-Engels, 80 pp.	2,000
De Leon the Uncompromising, Arnold Petersen, 80 pp. ...	3,000
Down With War! (Declaration) 32 pp.	13,000
Nazi Beast Roars, Arnold Petersen, 80 pp.	7,000
Socialism: The World of Tomorrow, Arnold Petersen, 48 pp.	8,000
Soviet Russia: Promise or Menace?, Arnold Petersen, 64 pp.	3,000
Superstition: Father of Slavery, Arnold Petersen, 32 pp. ...	3,000
*War, Arnold Petersen, 48 pp.	2,000
Total,	48,000

January 1, '40-March 31, '40	
*Soviet Russia: Promise or Menace? 64 pp.	2,000
Stalinist Corruption of Marxism, Arnold Petersen, 128 pp. ...	3,000
(500 cloth-bound.)	
Stalinist International Anarchism (Declaration), 16 pp.	5,000
*Superstition: Father of Slavery, 32 pp.	2,000
Grand total	60,000

Those marked with an asterisk (*) are reprintings; all others were printed in 1939 and 1940 for the first time.

From January 1, 1939, to March 31, 1940, the following leaflets were printed:

January 1, '39-December 31, '39.	
A. F. of L.-C.I.O.: Unity and National Defense, 4 pp. (with cartoon), new	140,000
C.I.O.: The Road to Fascism, 4 pp.	15,500
Fascist Menace, 2 pp. (with cartoon), new	285,000
(125,000 printed of original title "Fascism," incl.).	
Industrial Union (with graph), 4 pp.	15,000
Is Labor a Commodity?, 4 pp. (with cartoon)	219,500
Labor's Might (special Connecticut radio leaflet), 2 pp., new	15,000
Lost! 500 Billion Dollars (special Greater New York leaflet), 2 pp., new	50,000
Mooney and the Class Struggle, 4 pp., (new)	50,000
Revolution vs. Reform, 2 pp.	25,000
Socialism: Champion of Civilized Principles, small 4 pp., new	76,000
Socialist Labor Party: Victim of Radio Censorship, 2 pp., new	45,000
(for Greater New York and Connecticut, original title: "S.L.P. Suppressed!")	
To the Young Workers of America, 2 pp., new	155,000
War!, 2 pp. (with cartoon), new	468,000
War Means Dictatorship, small 4 pp., new	499,000
What Is Socialism?, 2 pp. ...	35,000
Whither Society?, 2 pp.	50,000

Who Owns America?, 4 pp., (with graph), new	76,000
Workers, Organize for Industrial Government, 2 pp.	50,000
("Important Features" WEEKLY PEOPLE (revised 1 p.) 42,000)	

Total printed 1939	2,269,000
On hand January 1, 1939,	331,500
Printed, 1939,	2,269,000
Distributed, 1939,	2,600,500
On hand December 31, 1939,	544,000

Leaflets Printed:

January 1, '40-March 31, '40.	
Industrial Union (with graph), 4 pp.	20,000
Is Socialism Un-American?, 2 pp., new	75,000
Socialism: Champion of Civilized Principles, small 4 pp.	25,000
Socialist Labor Party: Victim of Radio Censorship, 2 pp. (for Greater New York)	50,000
War! (revised), 2 pp. (with cartoon),	100,000
War Means Dictatorship, small 4 pp.	60,000
Who Owns America? (with graph), 4 pp.	25,000
Workers, Organize for Industrial Government, 2 pp.	50,000
Printed 1939	2,269,000
Grand total	2,674,000

As to the pamphlets, it will be noted that a great many new titles were brought out during these 15 months. This is understandable, considering the period through which we are passing, demanding instant treatment of the many world-shaking events that have taken place. Most of these new pamphlets will probably be chiefly of current interest, and for reference in the future to those who desire to study the gradual unfolding of the master-drama of the ages. For it is precisely such a master-drama we are witnessing before our very eyes, a drama in which we all play our parts. The fact that the older pamphlets, and particularly the De Leon classics, are not being sold in the same quantities as before does not, of course, mean that these classics are forgotten, or being supplanted. No danger of that. As the new recruits enter the Party, it is upon these classics that they will be nurtured and developed into sound, discerning Marxists and fighting De Leonist militants.

Several of these old classics are in process of being prepared for republication, either with suitable notes and annotations, or simply to be reset in new modern readable type. Several other pamphlets are being prepared for publication. It is to be regretted that as yet we have been unable to reissue the Sue books, but there has been neither means nor time for doing so. It is hoped that time may be found for bringing out soon the parliamentary manual, as well as "Economic Basis of Education" by Aaron M. Orange. The others awaiting attention are: "Machinery and the Working Class" (to be brought up to date); "What Means This Strike?"; "Socialism

from Utopia to Science"; "Wage Labor and Capital"; and "Vulgar Economy." If one could only declare a moratorium on time—for just a few weeks—it would be possible to catch up without fear of further procrastination! As it is, it is becoming somewhat of a problem to squeeze more work into the diurnal twenty-four hours!

It has been called to our attention that years ago, when the plates for our present edition of "The Communist Manifesto" were made, apparently a line or two dropped out, causing a passage to be incorrect. The plates were probably made upward of thirty years ago, or more, and there is, of course, no way now of tracing how the mistake happened. The passage occurs on page 19 of the present edition, and now reads as follows:

"Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies not in the immediate result but in the ever improved means of communication that are created in modern industry and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another...."

The passage should read as follows (the line omitted being underscored), including a few editorial changes:

"Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever *expanding union of the workers*. *This union is furthered by the improved means of communication* which are created by modern industry, and which place the workers of different localities in contact with one another...."

Apparently the mistake was discovered while an S.L.P. sympathizer had an argument with a Communist and wanted to prove a point by quoting a certain passage, the point, however, not at all related to the line that had accidentally dropped out years ago. In comparing the passage in our edition with the Communist edition, the omission was discovered, and, of course, the Communist (probably because he is trained in an organization which has elevated swindling and trickery to a principle) immediately charged that the S.L.P. had eliminated this line for some ulterior reason or other. The fact that the line had dropped out when the plates were made thirty years ago would make no difference to a Communist. The correction will, of course, be made when the pamphlet is reprinted, and meanwhile an erratum slip will be inserted in the supply on hand of "The Communist Manifesto."

We sold 2,479 copies of the 1940 S.L.P. Calendar printed by our Lynn comrade-printer, H. I. Hillis. This is almost the same quantity that was printed of the 1939 and 1938 Calendars. As already mentioned, we also plan to publish in some permanent form the series of studies or lessons in Socialist science that have been running through the WEEKLY PEOPLE in recent months, and which, when completed, will constitute the new Socialist Study Course. Finally, mention should be made of the Golden Jubilee Magazine, just off the press, and published under the title "Golden Jubilee of De Leonism." The magnificence of this commemorative publication is such that it needs no detailed description here. It is with pride that we point to the

fact that (except for the cover) this artistic and beautiful 52-page magazine was printed in our own plant, on our somewhat battle-scarred presses! The frontispiece, the De Leon portrait, is a work of art in itself, which every S.L.P. adherent, every admirer of De Leon, and every lover of art, will treasure. It is no exaggeration to say that the Party has never before turned out a publication which remotely can be compared with it. It should find its place, as a permanent item among historical *memorabilia*, in large and small, public and private, libraries. Its value will, we believe, increase with the years, especially since the edition is strictly limited, and since there will be no reprints.

As to the leaflets, it will be noted that during 1939 a total quantity of 2,269,000 was printed, as against 2,209,500 in 1938. Outside campaign years, the 1939 total is the largest ever printed by the Party.

During the four-year period beginning April 1, 1936, and ending March 1, 1940, we printed a grand total of 10,212,800, all of which have been distributed, except about 500,000, which is the stock on hand at present. More than Ten Million S.L.P. seeds—and who can tell how many of these are germinating and sprouting!?! This is almost double the quantity distributed during the preceding four-year period, when a total of approximately 5,550,000 was distributed.

It will be noted that as with the pamphlets, so with the leaflets, the emphasis has been on the current war situation. This is, of course, to be expected, since in the nature of things leaflets *are* primarily for events of the moment, and must be

changed, or superseded, with new ones, in accordance with the changes that take place. In fact, some of the present "current" leaflets will probably have to be rewritten, or withdrawn shortly after the present campaign has come to a close.

From time to time attempts have been made to place S.L.P. books and pamphlets for sale in bookstores, with varying degrees of success. Comrade Simon, of Section New Haven, has been particularly successful in placing our literature on sale at the Yale Cooperative, and respectable quantities are sold during the year. It would seem that more success might follow from a steadier and more intense following up by our Sections if they would make the effort in their respective localities. We may agree with Emerson (or whoever said it) that if a man makes a better mouse-trap than anyone else, the world will beat a path to his door, though he live in the wilderness. But whatever may be said for the quality of S.L.P. literature, we cannot expect the world to beat a path to *our* door, especially not in this capitalist wilderness. It is up to us to blow our trumpets, and announce to the world that *here* is found the solution to the world's great trouble, and that there is nothing remotely which is "just as good." *We* hold the key, and as we certainly would not throw that key in the sea, neither should we desire to keep it hidden from the gaze of the multitude. It is a pleasure to be able to report that there has been great improvement in respect to selling literature on the streets—so great that there has also been a pronounced increase in interferences with this important work by the police in vari-

ous localities, despite repeated Supreme Court rulings affirming our constitutional right to distribute and sell literature in public thoroughfares.

Sections Los Angeles and San Francisco have engaged in friendly competition and fraternal rivalry in the matter of selling literature during certain periods. As the organizer of Section Los Angeles said: "Section San Francisco beat us again in our sales contest. Their total for October was \$20.25 and ours \$14.50 for the same period, newsstand sales excluded in both cases. The contest is over now, but it has been worth while." In a letter to Section Los Angeles, the organizer of Section San Francisco said: "We are, of course, faced with the same problem here as you are in Los Angeles—some members cannot go out on the streets and sell literature lest they jeopardize their jobs; or, if having no jobs, lest they jeopardize their chances of getting one, an excuse for a fear which undoubtedly has some merit, but which fear (at least in my opinion) is greatly exaggerated."

More Sections might with profit to themselves and the Party enter into similar sales contests. Our pamphlets are attractive in appearance, low in price, well printed and therefore easily read. And our message is striking responsive chords in the minds of an ever growing number of workers and other intelligent people.

Finances and Party Funds.

Financially the Party has its ups and downs. At one time the situation may seem pretty desperate, then

the situation rights itself, either through increased sales of literature and subs, and/or through an increase in contributions, or, as in 1939, through one or more estates being settled in the Party's favor. All things considered, as of December 31, 1939, the Party was better off financially than it had been for some time, though the situation is not so good now as it was then, since support to the various funds has fallen to a new low, due, it is to be supposed and hoped, to the fact that the subdivisions are concentrating on raising as large an amount as possible for the Pre-Convention Fund.

Among the outstanding sources of support for the Press Fund remains the annual Thanksgiving Bazaar, which in increasing measure constitutes a pillar of support of our official organ. Year by year the net proceeds climb higher and higher, the 1939 affair producing the highest ever. It is inspiring to compare the results of the last three affairs. In 1937 the net proceeds came approximately to \$3,750; in 1938 approximately \$3,900; and in 1939 approximately \$4,750. There was a time—and not so many years ago—

when from \$1,500 to \$2,000 would be considered an immense success. Now we are a bit disappointed if the total does not reach \$5,000!! Of course, the entire Party works together in producing these splendid results, which are truly the fruits of cooperation, disciplined, wholehearted and intelligent cooperation.

Apart from the total raised in New York at the Bazaar proper, special mention should be made of the 1939 Detroit affair which netted \$708.35; the Ohio State affair which produced \$538.53, and the Allegheny County, Pa., affair (including Sections Beaver and Allegheny Co., the Weekly People Club, and the Hungarian Branch), which yielded \$109.53. An important factor is also the Weekly People Bazaar collection lists which really are circulated.

We are appending hereto schedules: (A) shows the composition and grand total of all funds; (B) reveals the part of this total derived from picnics, entertainments, etc., and to what particular fund the proceeds of such entertainments, etc., were applied; and (C) reveals the sources from which the foregoing proceeds were derived:

FUND RECEIPTS

January 2, 1939-December 31, 1939

(A)

Press Funds

Totals Same Period 1938

PRESS SECURITY FUND (including Guard)	\$7,423.30	\$6,211.98
Press Security.....	\$6,044.39	
Guard	1,378.91	
Comparative figures previous year:		
Press Security	\$4,263.34	
Guard	1,948.64	

BAZAAR FUND	\$4,856.04	\$3,829.29
Cash Donations	\$3,591.57	
Proceeds proper		
New York Bazaar...	1,264.47	
Comparative Figures previous year:		
Cash Donations	\$2,497.02	
Proceeds New York		
Bazaar	1,332.27	

CHRISTMAS BOX	\$2,672.35*	\$2,411.33
(*Includes 1938 Bulgarian Convention collection of \$1,515.40.)		
WEEKLY PEOPLE "VOLUNTARY" ASSESSMENT	\$1,476.05	\$5,221.20
Total Press Funds	\$16,427.74	\$17,673.80

OTHER FUNDS.

National Organizer Fund	\$4,906.12	\$4,264.46
National Organizer Fund "Voluntary Assessment"	2,325.41	
Radio Broadcasting Fund	532.98	747.90
Political Rights Defense Fund	652.53	191.10
De Leon Editorial Publication Fund	335.21	507.60
National Secretary 25th Anniversary Fund**	3,781.07	
Ukrainian Literature Fund	5.00	19.11
Total	\$12,538.32	\$5,730.17

Total Press Funds	\$16,427.74	\$17,673.80
Total Other Funds	12,538.32	5,730.17

Grand Total All Funds	\$28,966.06	\$23,403.97
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**Disposed of as follows (per N.E.C. 1939):

To National Organizer Fund	\$1,000.00
To National Campaign Fund 1940	1,000.00
To Press Security Fund	1,781.07

(B)

Proceeds Entertainments, Picnics, Etc.
(Amounts included in foregoing figures)

	Totals	Comparative Figures 1938
Press Security Fund	\$2,939.68	\$2,445.00
Bazaar Fund (other than New York City)	1,824.32	1,180.52
Christmas Box	1,537.90	1,495.28
Weekly People Guard	67.00	
National Organizer Fund	661.14	354.36
De Leon Editorial Publication Fund	32.41	239.23
Political Rights Defense Fund	30.56	
National Secretary 25th Anniversary Fund	1,212.25	
Weekly People "Voluntary" Assessment		38.50
Total	\$8,305.26	\$5,752.89
Total Press Funds	\$6,368.90	\$5,159.30
Total Other Funds	1,936.36	593.59

(C)

Sources from which were derived the foregoing proceeds of entertainments, picnic, etc.

	Totals
PRESS SECURITY FUND (including GUARD):	
Sections and S.E.C.s	\$1,130.48
Weekly People Clubs	462.66
Federations (Hungarian and South Slavonian Conventions)	1,211.54
Branches	6.50
Joint Affairs	162.75
Study Classes and groups	32.75
	\$3,006.68

BAZAAR FUND:

Sections	185.97	
Weekly People Clubs	216.92	
Joint Affairs	1,421.43	1,824.32

CHRISTMAS BOX:

Bulgarian Convention 1938	\$1,515.40	
Weekly People Clubs	22.50	1,537.90

NATIONAL ORGANIZER FUND:

Sections	\$358.97	
Weekly People and Radnicka		
Borba Clubs	157.17	
Joint Affairs	145.00	661.14

DE LEON EDITORIAL PUBLICATION FUND:

Sections		32.41
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POLITICAL RIGHTS DEFENSE FUND:

Sections		30.56
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NATIONAL SECRETARY 25TH ANNIVERSARY FUND:

Sections	\$1,150.87	
Weekly People Clubs	61.38	1,212.25

Total \$8,305.26

Since January 1 this year, and up to and including March 31, there has been received a total amount for *all* funds of \$3,516.50. This compares poorly with the same period a year ago when a total of \$5,814.89 was collected. We hope the difference of approximately \$2,300 has found its way into the pre-convention campaign fund, many times multiplied!

Another increasingly important source of income is the Weekly People Clubs, of which, as stated, there are now 24 in various parts of the country. During the year these

Clubs contributed to various national funds a total amount of \$1,478.78. Adding to this figure the amount of approximately \$20 from three disbanded Clubs, we have a total from this source of nearly \$1,500. It should be easy to double the number of Weekly People Clubs, and that accomplished we should be able to count on two or three times the amount of last year's total for the various national funds from Weekly People Clubs.

During the year, as stated, the following "Estates" were liquidated

with the amounts indicated received as proceeds:

Huba Estate\$4,107.73
Flynn Estate ...\$3,291.06

The proceeds of the Huba Estate were applied to the Weekly People Press Fund, and the proceeds of the Flynn Estate went to the National Organizer Fund.

There is one point that needs to be stressed again and again, and that is the handling of collection lists issued by the National Office for the various funds. On numerous occasions in the past the National Office has pleaded with the subdivisions to keep strict account of these lists, to see to it that the member, to whom one or more have been entrusted, renders proper accounting to the Section, and so forth. While it would perhaps be unfair to say that these appeals have been entirely in vain, the fact remains that a number of Sections either pay no attention to these appeals, or are unable to secure an accounting from members to whom lists were given. Recently the National Office made a sort of *razzia* among the subdivisions for these lists with rather astonishing results! Sections and other subdivisions discovered they had lists going back to the 1936 campaign — lists which either they could not find before, or which they thought they could not find. It is one of the incomprehensible mysteries of Party life that units of the Party (and individual members) seemingly are unable to understand the vital importance and *necessity* of returning lists that have been called in, no matter if not one cent has been collected on them. Purely from a bookkeeping and accounting standpoint, a *blank*

list outstanding is as important as one filled out. The point is, of course, that there is only one way in which the National Office can know if a list is blank or not, and that is by having it returned. It is elementary, and yet there is something about these lists which seems to cause them to be placed in a class of Party obligations not to be taken too seriously, much as certain laws are violated with impunity by our very "best families"—smuggling, for instance, or, during the era of "the noble experiment," prohibition, etc. It is hoped and expected that the convention will declare itself on this subject in a manner not to be misunderstood by those whom such "presents" might concern.

Before leaving the subject of finances, etc., a few words should be said on that new phenomenon, taxes —new, that is, to the S.L.P. We have, of course, in mind particularly the so-called Social Security taxes. Since these went into effect a couple of years ago, we have had to pay to federal and state governments the, to us, large total of \$3,483. When we consider that this money goes to a fund which in itself we must pronounce a snare and a delusion; when we reflect on the fact that the purpose of the promoters of this reform is to preserve the very system to the destruction of which all our energies and resources are dedicated, the outrageous character of this tax, its essential unfairness, becomes clear. It is as if you were compelled to pay a church tax to help support a church or a religion which you consider a menace, or at least a hindrance to culture and to civilization! There appears to be nothing we can do about this now, but the very

thought of turning over to politicians nearly \$3,500, in order (in effect, at least, if not directly and in actual fact) to help support these hungry politicians in their sinecures, is enough to set one's blood boiling! It would, among other things, keep an organizer in the field for more than a whole year, or it would enable us to reprint the Sue books, or purchase a new automatic press, or any number of desirable and useful things to the S.L.P. The essential injustice of this fraudulent tax (so far as the S. L.P. as a non-profit institution is concerned) lies in its being levied on *outgo*, and not on income. With capitalist concerns, operating for profit, there is the natural assumption that so long as they continue paying wages, they are making money—in the long run, at least—while with us the collection of this money means in effect that the political party in power (Republican or Democratic, it matters not) levies tribute on another political party for the nonce at its mercy!

The total amounts collected for all funds during the four-year period (cents omitted) are as follows:

1936	\$51,083
1937	32,374
1938	26,691
1939	28,966

—————
\$139,114

A grand total of \$139,114 as compared with \$118,410 for the preceding four-year period. Adding the amounts taken in through WEEKLY PEOPLE and Labor News sales, etc. (amounting to \$80,996), we have the total of \$220,110 in four years. Adding the amounts taken in by the National Office for purposes other

than funds (dues, assessments, etc., or a total of approximately \$34,424), we arrive at the total of approximately \$254,534. If to this figure we add the money taken in by the Federations during the last four years (Bulgarian \$51,926, Hungarian \$27,952, South Slavonian \$55,455; total \$135,333), we find that the Socialist Labor Party in four years took in the huge total of nearly \$400,000 from all sources, and through the national organizations. Figures are not available of the amounts taken in by Sections, Branches, State Executive Committees, which amounts were expended locally (that is, not remitted to the National Offices of the Party and the Federations), but it is safe to say that with these figures added we shall come close to, if we do not exceed, the half million dollar mark in four short years. And the fool hath said: There is no S.L.P.!

As of course you know, we were compelled to move out of the old headquarters at 45 Rose Street where we had been located nearly 26 years. The details have been related in the reports to the N.E.C. of 1937 and 1938. While the moving of the Party plant and offices, and the installation in the new headquarters at 61 Cliff Street, with the many changes and improvements rendered necessary, was a rather costly affair, it is universally felt and agreed that the change was well worth the cost, especially, of course, since we had no choice in the matter. Eventually we should have had to move anyway, since the old place had fallen into such decay that it had become quite unfit for the use of decent people. The lease on our present headquarters expires in 1943,

with an option to renew for another five-year period, but not necessarily at the same rental. Since the present headquarters constitutes a vast improvement over the old one, and other things being equal, we expect to renew the lease for five years more.

The National Auditing Committee will, as usual, submit the Financial Statement and Balance sheet, audited, as during the past twenty-five years, by Simonoff, Peyser & Citrin. Certified Public Accountants.

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Radio.

While the Party made extensive use of the radio during the past four years, there have been constantly increasing restrictions placed upon our employment of this important medium of information and propaganda. Our initial difficulty, of course, has been the tremendous cost of engaging radio facilities that would be really worth while, but even when locally we did secure facilities which were reasonably effective for our purpose, reaction stepped in, smilingly, of course, and wrapped in the noblest democratic phrases, put a stop to our use of even such local radio facilities. The outstanding case during 1939 was that of the Yankee Network, over whose Bridgeport and New Haven stations we had been broadcasting for several years. Sensing, no doubt, the value to minority groups of even such limited use of the radio, the controlling or dominant interests in the radio industry got together and formulated what they called the N.A.B. Code. (The "Code" of the National Association of Broadcasters.) Osten-

sibly designed to establish "equality," this code provided the means whereby minority groups might be shut off, and kept off, the air, entirely at the discretion of the corporation-owned stations, thereby in fact establishing corporation censorship of the radio. The Yankee Network corporation last fall (after permitting the first talk of the new series to be broadcast) banned the rest—censored them off the air, as arbitrarily, inconsistently and unreasonably as in the case of all institutions equipped with that most sensitive of all nerves, the property nerve. The Yankee Network, in fact, brutally trampled underfoot that instrument usually so sacred to corporate interests, the contract. The Party, of course, protested, but to no avail. You are all familiar with the details which were published in the WEEKLY PEOPLE. Because of the violation of contract, we had a perfectly good legal case, but since we had to prove material damages, and since the cost of proving such damages would far exceed the amount we undoubtedly could collect, we abandoned, for the time being, the idea of legal action. Instead we planned to place the matter before the Federal Communications Commission at Washington, which is supposed to control the radio industry. Directing an inquiry to the Federal Communications Commission as to method of procedure, we were reminded by this body that the Federal Communications Commission had no jurisdiction in cases of broken contracts, thus conveying to us none too subtly that we need not bother at all. Nevertheless, we had intended to formulate a protest, but since this necessitated re-reading

the voluminous correspondence, the more or less involved rules and regulations of the "Code" and of the Federal Communications Commission, and a thousand and one other matters pressing, it has simply not been possible for the National Office to find the time to do anything further in the matter. The matter, however, *will* be followed through to a conclusion, for the record, at least, if for no other reason.

There is a question to be considered in this connection which may prove rather important and that is the signing of radio contracts for series of talks. There is a possibility, though somewhat remote, that if the Yankee Network contract had been executed somewhat differently, the Party might have had a stronger legal hold on the Yankee Network. Be this as it may, the suggestion that this might have been so has led to the conclusion that it would be desirable that wherever possible all contracts for *series of broadcasts* be submitted to the National Office for scrutiny, and possibly legal advice, before signing the said contract.

The second "casualty" in this radio censorship is that involving our use of the facilities of Station WWVA, owned by the West Virginia Broadcasting Corporation at Wheeling, W. Va. That station had for a long time been chafing under the contract in force between it and the Party, and frequent attempts were made to censor the talks broadcast by Comrade Pirincin and others. On the whole, however, we had our say, with but minor and unimportant changes made in our talks. The contract being about to expire, steps were taken to secure a renewal, but the West Virginia Broadcasting Cor-

poration flatly refused to renew it. The reason given was the same as in the case of the Yankee Network: The Code! Hypocritically, the management told us that this "Code" was such a wonderful thing because it made it "impossible for financially powerful groups...to obtain control of a powerful public forum"! This, indeed, is to laugh! As we know, the "Code" has had precisely the opposite effect—as it undoubtedly was expected to have: it has made it possible for those with financial means at their disposal to fight, and, in some measure at least, to circumvent the so-called "Code," while it has effectively shut off the air the voice of the Socialist Labor Party. Whenever these corporations begin to shed tears in behalf of democratic rights, freedom of speech, the "public interest," and so forth, we had better beware. For we may then be quite sure there is afoot some particularly vicious reactionary scheme, some exceptional corporation villainy! It is the old story of "equality before the law" all over again—the "equality" whose inherent hypocrisy was so scathingly denounced by Anatole France when he said that "The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread"!

Magnanimously, and in keeping with the "Code," the WWVA management offered us limited free time, at their convenience. Undoubtedly we should be grateful for small favors, but it ought to be obvious to any thinking person that such extremely limited free time is in no sense a compensation for being censored off the air. The offer has all the appearances of an attempt to

bribe us into an acquiescence of the stupid radio censorship imposed. The censorship, as we have seen, is a real one, and as effective as if imposed by government, only more irresponsible and more difficult to deal with. As we said in our letter to the Yankee Network (October 25, 1939):

"The views and policies of the Socialist Labor Party, a political party of fifty years' standing in this country, may ultimately be considered such as not to serve 'public interest, convenience and necessity.' Whether they do so or not is a question to be decided at the ballot box, and not by an irresponsible, incompetent, self-constituted private corporation censorship. The former is the American, the democratic way. The latter is the method of absolutism, of autocratic totalitarianism."

Since January 1, 1939, and up to and including April 22, 1940, seven series of weekly broadcasts, at different times, and of varying periods of duration, were conducted. There was one series of five broadcasts, one of six, one of thirteen, one of eighteen, one of nineteen, one of twenty-six, and one of fifty-seven—the latter to continue until November 10, 1940. A total of 31 single broadcasts was also delivered during 1939 and up to the present writing, seven of which were for periods of 30 minutes or more, 23 for 15 minutes, and one broadcast was for a ten-minute period. A detailed schedule of these broadcasts (when, where and by whom delivered, etc.) is shown below.

It goes without saying that every effort will be made to get on the air as often and long as possible, and full advantage will be taken of what-

ever incidental benefits one may discover in the "Code" and under the rules of the Federal Communications Commission. Tentative arrangements have been made for broadcasting the Golden Jubilee and Convention proceedings, but at the time of preparing this report exact details are not yet available.

During the year of 1939, and up to and including March 31, 1940, the National Office collected the amount of \$541.18, and \$523.85 was expended, leaving a balance of \$2,102.18 in the Radio Broadcasting Fund.

Schedule of Radio Broadcasts:

From January 1, 1939.

Hamilton, Ont., Canada:

CHML, March 15, 1940, 15 minutes, speaker, Charles Butters. (Second period contracted for March 21, cancelled by station.)

Hull, Que., Canada:

CKCH, eight 15-minute periods on the "Forward Canada" series. March 2, May 3, May 22, June 8, June 10, June 22, August 24 and 30, 1939. Speakers: Wm. Leckie, E. A. Irving and Edward Desmarais.

New Haven, Conn.:

WICC (Tri-State series): of series of 31 started October 2, 1938, 18 weekly 15-minute broadcasts were delivered between January and April 30, 1939, by the Voice of the S.L.P. A new series of 13 Sunday morning broadcasts was contracted for to start October 8, 1939. Only one talk was delivered, by Comrade Eric Hass. The balance were censored and contract finally cancelled by station.

Harrisburg, Ill.:

WEBQ, October 3, 1939, 15 minutes, John P. Quinn.

East St. Louis, Ill.:

WTMV, series of six 15-minute weekly talks by Jos. Pirincin, from August 3 to September 7, 1939. Two half-hour broadcasts on September 17 and October 1, by J. Pirincin and J. P. Quinn respectively.

Evansville, Ind.:

WEOA, January 9, 1939, 15 minutes; speakers, Barefield and Neidermeier.

Boston, Mass.:

WORL, series of 19 fifteen-minute weekly talks by H. A. Blomen and others, January 29, 1939, to June 4, 1939. Series of fifteen-minute weekly talks started on October 15, 1939, to be continued up to and including November 10, 1940—number of talks totaling 57.

Springfield, Mass.:

WSPR, five 15-minute weekly broadcasts, May 10 to June 7, 1939.

Pontiac, Mich.:

WCAR, thirteen 15-minute weekly broadcasts, started February 18, 1940, to continue until May 12, 1940.

Cincinnati, Ohio:

WKRC, May 20, 1939, ten-minutes on Forum.

Cleveland, Ohio:

WHK, February 13 and March 5, 1940, Jos. Pirincin on the one-hour "Wake Up America!" Forum.

Youngstown, Ohio:

WKBN, February 14 and March 6, 1940, Jos. Pirincin on the one-hour "Wake Up America!" Forum.

Bend, Oregon:

KBND, September 29, 1939, 15 minutes; Mack Johnson, speaker.

Altoona, Pa.:

WFBG, three 15-minute talks delivered by Jos. Pirincin on April 4, December 1, 1939, and February 28, 1940.

Harrisburg, Pa.:

WKBO, December 9, 1939, 15 minutes, Jos. Pirincin.

Wilkes Barre, Pa.:

WBAX, December 19, 1939, 15 minutes, Jos. Pirincin.

Wheeling, W. Va.:

WWVA, March 28, 1939, 15 minutes, Jos. Pirincin. Series of 20 fifteen-minute weekly broadcasts contracted to start October 2, 1939; first talks held up by "Code." Series started October 30, 1939, to end April 22, 1940. Speakers: Jos. Pirincin and others.

Bellingham, Wash.:

KVOS, November 9, 1939, 15 minutes, Mack Johnson.

Spokane, Wash.:

KFPY: October 22, 1939, 15 minutes on Forum, Mack Johnson.

Tacoma, Wash.:

KMO, Mack Johnson delivered three talks—October 14, 1939, 30 minutes; November 4 and 11, 15 minutes each.

The S.L.P. Movement Abroad.

There is very little that we can report with regard to the activities of the Socialist Labor Parties abroad. As a result of the war, the S.L.P. in Great Britain, as well as in Australia, have been tremendously restricted in their activities. That they, nevertheless, are able to carry on without compromising any principles is a credit to the abilities, understanding and steadfastness of

our comrades in Great Britain and Australia.

In Great Britain our comrades continue to publish that excellent monthly journal, *The Socialist*, although due to war restrictions they were compelled to reduce it from eight to four pages, except the March, 1940, issue, which was issued in six pages. The primary reason is, of course, the paper shortage. Our British comrades have been doubly handicapped by reason of the fact that the Editor of the paper, Comrade Robertson, took ill a year or so ago, and has not yet recovered to resume his duties, throwing an additional burden on that indefatigable S.L.P. veteran, Comrade L. Cotton, who, however, himself recently met with a rather serious accident (during one of the "black-out" nights so familiar in Europe at this time), and was laid up for weeks. Despite all these adversities, our British comrades are continuing to carry the S. L.P. message of emancipation to the working class of Great Britain with a determination and spirit that know no defeat. It is safe to say that when the war ends, and the workers once more begin to inquire as to the why and the wherefore of wars and all the other ills of modern times, the S.L.P. of Great Britain will get its hearing.

Just as this report is being prepared, Comrade L. Cotton, who is also the National Secretary of the S.L.P. of Great Britain, sent a brief account of the activities and problems of the S.L.P. in Great Britain. As Comrade Cotton stated in his covering letter, "All Party work, to the exclusion of many other important things, has had to be given to the paper [*The Socialist*].... We are

faced with innumerable difficulties which, obviously, I cannot state in a letter." And referring to the many difficulties confronting him and his co-workers, he concludes his letter saying: "One has to face realities and avoid dreaming of what cannot be got. In some ways the gods have been on our side."

Comrade Cotton's brief story of British S.L.P. achievements and vicissitudes follows:

"The S.L.P. in Britain."

"Circumstances in the last three years in Britain have dictated that the policy of the (small) S.L.P. should be confined to the urgent need of building up its press and its Party paper, *The Socialist*. The speed of industrial and political events, the constant and successful efforts to reduce the standards of working class life, to limit political liberties, the complete sell-out to reaction by the fakerdom and its connivance with the ruling class in reducing workers to the level of industrial serfs, the failure of the political parties calling themselves Socialist to combat these tendencies from the standpoint of Socialist principle, and the consequent bewilderment of the workers in general, had produced a situation in which all opposition to the growing powers of capitalism and the disintegration of such working class solidarity as existed, had broken down. It was imperatively necessary for the S.L.P., small as it was, to make a superhuman effort to establish its own press, its own paper, and to create a body of native S.L.P. literature in order to expose the treacheries of labor leadership and to propagate working class policy in

the light of Marxian principles. The breakdown of labor's powers of resistance was already far advanced. The S.L.P. was faced with the alternative of making the effort, however difficult, or to go under altogether, possibly for a long period.

"And the S.L.P. made the effort. Without a cent in its treasury, with no competent writers, no prospects of sales, and no organization for distribution, it set to work to gather funds for the paper, and, in six months, began publication even though its cash in hand could not guarantee its appearance for more than a few months. Only the consistent and persistent efforts of every member could give any hope of success beyond a few months. The membership responded and worked hard to raise funds and to sell the paper. Publication brought new difficulties. Lack of equipment and organization for handling sales produced unexpected obstacles, and lack of writers still more. After eight months the war broke out, producing more and seemingly overwhelming difficulties. Only those who know the technical and organizational details of publication can realize the difficulties to be surmounted when there are no paid workers and every detail has to be carried through by the voluntary labor of members in their leisure time, and practically every copy has to be sold individually by the members themselves. Despite all that, and with a membership of less than a hundred, the sales gradually crept up before the war to over three thousand copies per month. Since the war it was inevitable the sales would fall, and they did. All the difficulties were increased.

"Can the effort succeed? No one can tell. If, as we hope, the loyal support of the members and sympathizers can be continued, we shall succeed. But it will be only by a terrific struggle. The fate of the S.L.P. in Britain depends largely upon that success. If it fails, the Party will possibly be submerged for a long time; if it succeeds, the S.L.P. will emerge with the credit of being the only consistent Marxian Party in the country, and its reward will be a big one. Every other party, even though it may occasionally criticize the labor leaders, always reverts to loyalty to the craft union machine, thereby making possible the very crimes it condemns. These parties, while professing Marxism, and sometimes offering feeble criticism of the lords of fakedom, dare not, and do not, urge the workers to take the straight and necessary policy of smashing fakedom's machine of misrule. On the contrary, they follow the line of opportunism and urge the workers to join the craft unions and thus support and strengthen the craft union leaders they at other times condemn. Any other policy would mean for them facing ostracism from fakedom, being pushed out of the limelight, and having to get down to the plodding work of building a Socialist movement from the foundation upwards. Only the S.L.P. has the courage for that. If the S.L.P. can not do it, no other Party can or will make the effort. It alone knows that until that work is done, the emancipation of the workers is a utopian dream.

"Confident in the membership of the S.L.P., we believe the Party will emerge from the present struggle

successfully, even though the struggle will be a hard one. Meantime all the effort and activity of the Party must be concentrated upon building up the press and the paper."

From Australia very little is heard. Recently, however, a few letters did reach the National Office reporting on the situation under the Southern Cross. Here, too, the war spirit is predominant — that is, officially speaking—with indications, however, that the workers are not at all enthusiastic about the war.

There are two Branches in Australia, which carry on the S.L.P. activities regularly, one in Melbourne and one in Adelaide. Unfortunately, the Party in Australia never succeeded in reestablishing itself in Sydney, where a bogus outfit, masquerading as the S.L.P., continues to deceive the workers. Had it not been for the untimely death of Comrade A. W. Wilson, S.L.P. veteran of Australia, it is quite likely that by this time the Party would have been reestablished on proper S.L.P. lines in Sydney, for plans were being discussed for Comrade Wilson's going to Sydney to see what could be done by way of reclaiming the field there for the bona fide S.L.P.

In a recent letter from Comrade H. Green, the National Secretary of the Australian S.L.P., reference is made to regular activities being carried on by the two Branches, a study class being maintained in Adelaide (South Australia), and regular public meetings being held in that city. Among other things, the Adelaide Branch reported that "literature sales have taken on an astonishing new lease of life, this being due to our young members pushing our

propaganda among their work-mates." In the same letter it is also stated "that the Communist party has almost gone out of existence as far as outdoor propaganda goes."

From Melbourne it is reported that literature sales are fair, and that the Branch meets regularly. With regard to Melbourne the report states: "The Communist party still hold good meetings every Sunday on the Yana Bank. Many of their supporters have dropped away since the Russian invasion of Finland, but they are still able to hoodwink a large number of workers. The S.L.P. is the only Party putting forth a straight-out program for the abolition of capitalism."

Commenting generally on the attitude of the workers toward Socialist and labor parties, Comrade Green says:

"The workers still cling to the Australian Labor party; they sincerely believe that they are supporting a genuine working class party. At election time they vote solidly for A.L.P. representatives. This political party, unlike the political parties of America, has the trade unions as its economic basis, and in the past many aspiring trade union officials have become Labor party politicians. The A.L.P. program at election time is one of reform, claiming that their administration of the capitalist State is superior to that of their opponents. The A. F. of L. says, 'No politics in the union.' The Australian trade unions are affiliated with the political Australian Labor party. The A.L.P. came into being after the great industrial upheaval of 1891, called the great maritime strike. The workers, defeated on the economic field, carried their

struggle onto the political. The party became the happy hunting-ground for all species of opportunists, seeking a soft cushy seat in parliament. Still the workers remain loyal. That magic word LABOR hypnotizes them to the belief that they may still gain something if they can only put this party into power. If we point out that they were in power, we are countered by the worker replying that they were not in long enough, that you had to give them time. So the S.L.P., though few in number, must continue to carry on, putting our program before the workers of Australia, convinced that the time will arise when the workers of this country will fall into line with those of other countries, abolish the capitalist system and erect in its place the Socialist Industrial Republic of Labor."

In Canada the S.L.P. has made considerable progress in recent years. The war, unfortunately, has greatly interfered with this progress, although the Party is continuing energetically, spreading the program of the Socialist Labor Party throughout the vast domain of Canada. From Comrade H. Risley, the General Secretary, a report has been received which is reproduced herewith:

"Toronto, April 1, 1940.

"Dear Comrade Petersen:

"In response to your request, I submit the following report covering what may be considered the more important items of Party activity in Canada during the past twelve months.

"Several comrades in Saskatchewan spent their summer holidays on an organized tour of Regina, Sas-

katoon and Winnipeg. In Saskatoon a meeting was arranged, some literature and a 6-month sub sold. The WEEKLY PEOPLE was placed on a newsstand and in the Public Library; 350 sets of leaflets were distributed, and several good contacts made. We now have a very active supporter and the basis of a study class in Saskatoon. In Regina we were unsuccessful in getting the WEEKLY PEOPLE in the Public Library, but made one good contact, distributed leaflets and sold some literature. We were successful in placing the Party's literature on sale on two newsstands in Winnipeg, and have several good contacts, and two active supporters in that city. The C.E.C. is giving serious consideration to further consolidate these gains during the coming summer.

"It was reported a year ago that our Ottawa comrades had succeeded in getting time on an open forum, entitled 'Forward Canada' (a weekly feature sponsored by a local manufacturing concern) broadcast from Hull, Quebec. A total of eight S.L.P. talks was broadcast on this program (at no cost to the Party) up to the end of August. Everything was ready for another broadcast on September 5, but the series was stopped owing to the outbreak of war. We were allowed to mention the Socialist Labor Party on these broadcasts, but not allowed to solicit inquiries, or give the Party address. All efforts to secure information as to inquiries from the radio station were futile. However, seeing that the management invited us to return, giving us most of the time, and prominently advertising in the newspaper that the Socialist Labor Party would

be on the air, we have every reason to believe that the response to our talks was good. Had the government not stopped these programs, we may well have been carrying on even yet. The comrades in Ottawa were kept busy preparing talks. Copies of all these talks were sent to the C.E.C.; several were published in the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

"Owing to the outbreak of war, and the consequent period of hysteria, it was considered advisable to cancel the Canadian convention scheduled to be held early in October. It was later suggested that an informal meeting be held in Toronto to discuss the situation, and informally agree upon a common procedure to meet the abnormal condition. But the winter approaching, bringing weather conditions which would increase the difficulty and expense of comrades coming to Toronto to attend such a meeting, also the organization gaining experience every day, the C.E.C. deemed that the spring would be the most profitable time for the Party in Canada to gather. The Canadian Sections will convene in Toronto May 25 and 26, and will, because of the experience (particularly of the past few months), discuss our problems with a greater intelligence, and plan for the future with more confidence than would have been possible last fall.

"There was every indication a year ago that a Canadian Federal Election would be held early in the fall. The C.E.C. prepared subscription lists to collect funds for a Canadian S.L.P. campaign. However, developments indefinitely postponed the election, and our sub lists for a Federal Campaign lost much of their appeal, but the need for an S.L.P.

campaign was even greater, and funds were more than ever necessary. The C.E.C. laid plans to inaugurate a 'voluntary assessment' of 25 cents per month on the Canadian membership, and withdraw the sub lists. The matter was taken up with the National Office, exemption was granted the Canadian membership from the National Organizer 'Voluntary Assessment,' and the Canadian Peace and Freedom Fund 'Voluntary Assessment' authorized. While the support to this fund has not been all that was desired, it has allowed the C.E.C. to lay in a stock of leaflets and plan new ones, with a view of supplying the Sections at low cost, possibly free, with leaflets, and thus encourage widespread distribution.

"During the year two Sections were organized: Section Ottawa, Ontario, in May, and Section Kamsack, Saskatchewan, in September. Both are the result of study groups, and have proved a valuable addition to the Canadian chain of Sections. In British Columbia we had several national members-at-large. The National Office transferred these members to Section Vancouver. This has brought all the members in British Columbia in closer touch with the Canadian organization, and has coordinated our work in the Province. There is every indication that definite progress will be made. The painstaking efforts of the Vancouver comrades, maintaining close contact with the out-of-town members, keeping them fully informed, and cooperating to the fullest extent with the C.E.C., are bound to bring results.

"There are sympathizers throughout Canada living in isolated locations, or far removed from any Par-

ty member or subdivision. They have no means of contact with the Party except by mail, and, above all, no way of attending a study class. The idea of a corresponding study class was discussed, and the basis is now being laid for such a class. Comrade McNaughten of Ottawa was appointed to carry on correspondence with contacts and sympathizers, under the direction of the C.E.C. It is too early to judge just how far this work will develop, but to date we have established regular correspondence with several sympathizers, and made some new contacts. Those who are corresponding regularly are receiving valuable training, and some we believe will organize study classes in their districts. We have also received from several requests for quantities of leaflets. There seems to be no doubt that this work will increase the sphere of the Party's influence in Canada.

"The Canadian Parliament was called into session on January 25, and after a three-hour session was suddenly dissolved. Thus, without warning, a Federal Election was ordered for March 26. This allowed approximately eight weeks to prepare and conduct a campaign. The C.E.C. immediately took steps to take all possible advantage of the period of political discussion. An appeal for a special donation of one dollar per member was issued. Complete returns are not yet in, but the response was very good, and it is expected that our goal will be reached. Twenty-five thousand of the Platform leaflet, with a statement explaining that the S.L.P. was unable to nominate candidates in this election owing to the money qualification of \$200 for each candidate nomi-

nated. A special election leaflet was written and referred to the National Office. Sixty thousand of this leaflet entitled 'Socialist Principles vs. Political Bickering' were printed, making a total of 85,000 leaflets for election distribution. These were sent out to the Sections free of all charges.

"Interference by the police was reported from Ottawa and Toronto. In Ottawa a speedy decision was obtained from the local officials and we were allowed to proceed. In Toronto the civic officials referred the matter to the Attorney General of Ontario. Pending a decision from the Provincial authorities, the distribution was continued. The police interfered several times and a letter of protest was sent the police commission. A day or so after we received word that we could proceed, and the leaflets taken from us were returned. In both cases the local Section acted and established our right to carry on our political activity.

"The C.E.C. arranged for distribution in the cities of Brantford and Oshawa, and sent bundles to 80 sympathizers throughout the country. Two hundred union organizations, and over 450 newspapers were circularized. C.E.C. members also addressed meetings in Toronto and Hamilton. Two radio talks were arranged over CHML in Hamilton. The first was broadcast on Friday, March 15, under the title 'Who Will Save Civilization, Politicians or Workers?' The second talk scheduled for March 21, entitled 'Industrial Democracy Beckons the Canadian Workers,' was not allowed to be broadcast. The station management claimed that in their opinion certain

passages contravened the War Defense Act. The C.E.C. is following the matter up and awaiting a reply to a letter requesting a definition of the passages which were questioned as being unlawful. When reports come in from the Sections on this campaign, a very creditable effort will be revealed, and one that will raise enthusiasm and instill confidence in the Canadian organization.

"Despite the abnormal conditions owing to the war, the Sections carry on consistently and determinedly. Study Classes are held regularly and considerable leaflet distribution has been carried on. Including the election leaflets, the C.E.C. has printed 185,000 leaflets during the year. A total of over 100,000 has been distributed. Reports show that Sections paid to the New York Labor News Co. approximately \$188.61, and to the WEEKLY PEOPLE over \$439, during 1939. Several hundred back copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE with leaflets have been sent out by the C.E.C. The Sections also distribute back copies.

"And so, in the darkness of this capitalist jungle, and in spite of the obvious capitalist propaganda to 'win the war,' we, the Canadian members of the Socialist Labor Party, hold firm, and carry on to meet the day when the spontaneous cry of 'end the war' will ring out, and the declaration raised across the land that Capitalism Must Be Destroyed.

"Fraternally submitted,
(Signed) "H. Risley,
"General Secretary."

In addition to the interference referred to by Comrade Risley, there have been serious interferences with

leaflet distribution in British Columbia. Section Vancouver, B.C., has reported that the police stopped several members, warning them of serious consequences if they persisted. Besides, the large bundle of WEEKLY PEOPLES sent weekly to Vancouver apparently has been confiscated by the authorities, for several such bundles were not received by the Section, which finally was compelled to cancel its order, replacing same with single copies, naturally in a much smaller total quantity.

It should also be noted here that the Canadian censorship has banned the circulation of the S.L.P. pamphlet "War" in Canada, and the South Slavonian annual publication, the "Kalendar," as well as the South Slavonian S.L.P. organ, *Radnicka Borba*, which fell under the ban of the official censors of Canada. Apparently there is nothing that we can do about this, at least not at this time.

Generally speaking, our members in Canada have risen magnificently to the extraordinary situation created in Canada by reason of the Dominion entering the war. It is with pride and pleasure that we can say that our Canadian comrades have carried on calmly, and without any indications of feeling panicky, doing the best they can under exceedingly trying circumstances. Wherever they have been interfered with, they have stood their ground with dignity, and in more than one case they carried their point against the police who arrested them. This was particularly true in Ottawa, where our comrades were interfered with with regard to leaflet-distribution, but were released by the court with the understanding that they had the

right to distribute S.L.P. leaflets. In Kamsack and in other places work goes on more or less as if there were no war at all. Our comrades in Canada are planning a sort of congress in May, as reported by Comrade Risley, where members from different parts of the Dominion will discuss their common problems and map out plans for meeting these, and to carry on the work of the Party with as little interference as possible.

It is a pleasure to be able to announce that upon invitation of the National Executive Committee of the Party, the Canadian comrades are represented at this National Convention in the person of its General Secretary, Comrade H. Risley, with Comrade G. Drury elected as alternate, in case anything should happen to prevent Comrade Risley's attending.

In the case of Canada, too, we may expect a large increase in support of the Party by the workers, once the European war has been ended. For even without enough classconsciousness, it is apparent that the Canadian workers as a whole are unable to understand why *they* should be compelled to go to Europe to slaughter and be slaughtered in a "cause" in which they cannot perceive that they have any concern.

[On the very eve of the convention there has been received from the Canadian Executive Committee a set of resolutions suggesting that the Canadian S.L.P. sever all organizational connections with the S.L.P. of the United States, by reason of the war conditions in Canada. The resolutions are submitted herewith. It is hardly necessary to say that this is a question that must be carefully

considered from its various angles, in order that we may determine what serves the best interests, not only of the Canadian S.L.P., but of the S.L.P. of North America as a whole.]

Restrictions on Free Speech, Distribution of Literature in Streets, Restricting the Ballot, the Radio, Etc.

During the last few years the Party has been subjected to a great deal of interference with our constitutional rights, and there have been frequent instances of denial of civil liberties. Although the United States Supreme Court has twice rendered important decisions upholding our right to distribute literature in the streets, we are nevertheless denied that right, until we succeed in bringing home to such local authorities that the Supreme Court (whose sanctity these reactionaries never fail to stress) has settled the question, and that these decisions are binding in any city and state within the Union. It is one of the ironies of this situation, that since the Supreme Court rendered these important decisions, affirming the rights of citizens to use the streets for above-mentioned purposes, there has been an increase of such unlawful interferences by local authorities. The official anarchists received renewed encouragement from President Roosevelt's act in declaring an emergency last fall (shortly after the outbreak of the war). Thus we have been compelled to make numerous protests, sometimes resulting in lengthy correspondence between

the National Office and local city attorneys or city solicitors. In most cases the result of such protests and letters has been an acknowledgment of our rights, but in a few cases the plain language of the Supreme Court has meant nothing to the official law-breakers. In some cases where our right to distribute free literature has been conceded, objection is raised to our *selling* literature in the streets, etc., and the usual justification for interfering with this right is that to sell S.L.P. literature is to peddle or hawk merchandise, and the local ordinance provides that a person who peddles merchandise must secure a peddler's license. We have a case on appeal now involving this question, in Atlantic City, where Comrade Milton Herder was found guilty of "peddling" without a license. The case comes up for a hearing shortly before the State Court. If we win, that presumably settles that issue in New Jersey, but it does not settle it for the other states. Thus we have had to spend hundreds of dollars in defense of rights which the Supreme Court of the United States presumably has already affirmed and reaffirmed. It might be noted in passing here that Magistrate Rothenberg in New York City rendered a well-reasoned decision in our favor recently, but unfortunately all judges are not equally enlightened.

The National Office has recently challenged the authority of the City of Indianapolis to interfere with our right to sell literature in the streets. Several letters were exchanged between city authorities and the National Office, with the city authorities remaining adamant. Since this correspondence is representative of the

course usually followed by the National Office, and since the arguments of the city of Indianapolis are more or less representative of the average municipality, and since in our letters we have outlined the specific and general grounds upon which we base our contentions, the more recent of this correspondence is produced herewith. It should be noted that the matter was taken up first by our local Section, but, getting nowhere with the local bureaucrats, the National Office stepped in. In the first letter we presented our case as follows:

"January 15, 1940.

"Michael Reddington,

"City Attorney,

"City Hall,

"Indianapolis, Ind.

"Sir:

"The state secretary of the Socialist Labor Party of Indiana, Mr. Charles Ginsberg, has informed me that he had a conference with you recently concerning the complaint previously filed by our organization in Indianapolis, against the interference by the city authorities with our right to sell and distribute Socialist Labor Party literature in the streets of Indianapolis. Mr. Ginsberg informs me that he explained fully to you the grounds on which we base our contention that we have the undisputed constitutional right to sell and distribute political literature in the streets of Indianapolis. He added, however, that you had suggested it might be advisable for me to communicate with you further. This letter, accordingly, is in response to your suggestion.

"I understand that our Indiana organization last summer wrote His

Honor, Mayor Sullivan, at considerable length concerning this matter, in which letter extensive citations from recent United States Supreme Court decisions were made, upholding the right of political parties, etc., to sell and distribute literature in the streets of American municipalities. I shall, therefore, not repeat what was stated in that letter to the Mayor, since I assume that you either have a copy of that letter, or that it will be rendered accessible to you. If, however, you have not read that letter, may I suggest that you do so?

[Here follow extracts from the letter to the Mayor referred to: "...The right of a political party to sell and distribute literature in the streets and other public places is guaranteed by the Constitution and has been recently reaffirmed by the United States Supreme Court (*Lovell vs. The City of Griffin, Georgia*, U.S. Supreme Court, October term 1937). The following is from the opinion written by Chief Justice Hughes:

'We think that the ordinance is invalid on its face. Whatever the motive which induced its adoption, its character is such that it strikes at the very foundation of the freedom of the press by subjecting it to license and censorship.'

"The opinion further states:

'The liberty of the press is not confined to newspapers and periodicals. It necessarily embraces pamphlets and leaflets. These indeed have been historic weapons in the defense of liberty, as the pamphlets of Thomas Paine and others in our own history abundantly attest. The press in its

historic connotation comprehends every sort of publication which affords a vehicle of information and opinion. What we have had recent occasion to say with respect to the vital importance of protecting this essential liberty from every sort of infringement need not be repeated.'

"And again:

'The ordinance cannot be saved because it relates to distribution and not to publication. "Liberty of circulating is as essential to that freedom as liberty of publishing; indeed, without the circulation, the publication would be of little value."'

"Finally, the opinion, unqualifiedly upholding the right of citizens and political, religious and educational groups to sell and distribute in the streets, without license or other condition, concludes:

'As the ordinance is void on its face, it is not necessary for appellant to seek a permit under it.'

"As you will note, the opinion of the Supreme Court is unqualified and sweeping, constituting in effect a rebuke to the authorities in the city of Griffin for doing unlawfully the very things which are found in Section 626 of the Indianapolis Code.

"In the recent case of *Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City vs. the C.I.O.*, etc., the same principle was involved, although Mayor Hague had not only interfered with the lawful activities of the C.I.O., etc., in distributing leaflets, etc., but had also prohibited and stopped lawful meetings planned and held by the C.I.O. and other organizations. In deciding upon this case, the Supreme Court again upheld the rights of citi-

zens to distribute and sell literature, without license, citing among other precedents the very case of *Lovell vs. Griffin*. And of course the right of using the streets for public meetings was also upheld in the decision rendered as of date of June 5, 1939. For your enlightenment and guidance I quote the following significant passages from the decision:

'Wherever the title of streets and parks may rest, they have immemorially been held in trust for the use of the public and, time out of mind, have been used for purposes of assembly, communicating thoughts between citizens and discussing public questions.

'Such use of the streets and public places has, from ancient times, been a part of the privileges, immunities, rights and liberties of citizens. The privilege of a citizen of the United States to use the streets and parks for communication of views on national questions may be regulated in the interest of all... but it must not, in the guise of regulation, be abridged or denied.'

"The Supreme Court ruling in the Hague case further stated:

'It does not [i.e., the ordinance voided by the Supreme Court] make comfort or convenience in the use of streets or parks the standard of official action. It enables the Director of Safety to refuse a permit on his mere opinion that such refusal will prevent "riots, disturbances, or disorderly assemblages." It can thus, as the record discloses, be made the instrument of arbitrary suppression of free expression of views on national affairs for the prohibition

of all speaking will undoubtedly "prevent" such eventualities. But uncontrolled official suppression of the privilege cannot be made a substitute for the duty to maintain order in connection with the exercise of the right.'

"And referring to provisions in the ordinance which places certain conditions on petitioners for a permit to hold meetings, and 'under which a permit may be granted or denied,' the Supreme Court decision continues:

'We think this is wrong. As the ordinance is void, the respondents are entitled to a decree so declaring and an injunction against its enforcement by the petitioners. They are free to hold meetings without a permit and without regard to terms of the void ordinance....'

"The Socialist Labor Party stands eager and willing to cooperate with the local authorities to the end that our public activities may be attended with peace and good order. But we will not tolerate, nor submit to any act on the part of the authorities which constitutes unlawful interference with our constitutional rights.

"I await your assurances that you, as one sworn to uphold the law, and to support the United States Constitution, will see to it that there will at no time in the future be any interference with our legitimate activities so far as you and the Police Department of Indianapolis are concerned."]

"Adding to the citations and arguments made in the letter to the Mayor, I should like to make these further comments:

"The United States Supreme Court decision in the case of Lovell vs. The City of Griffin, Ga., delivered by Chief Justice Hughes, on March 28, 1938, reproduces the Griffin, Ga., ordinance, and from the citation of the ordinance made by Chief Justice Hughes, I quote the following:

"That the practise of distributing, either by hand or otherwise, circulars, handbooks, advertising, or literature of any kind, *whether said articles are being delivered free, or whether same are being sold, within the limits of the City of Griffin.... shall be deemed a nuisance....*"

"I now direct your attention to the decision of the United States Supreme Court with respect to the Griffin, Ga., ordinance. I am enclosing a reprint of the Supreme Court decision (and also reprint of the most recent decision on the same subject, involving four municipalities), and invite your attention to that part of the decision where the United States Supreme Court specifically, and without noting any exception, declared the said ordinance 'void on its face.' It seems to me that if this means anything at all, it can only mean that the United States Supreme Court declared that the Georgia municipality violated the constitutional rights and safeguards of citizens with respect to free speech, etc., etc., by prohibiting the free distribution and the sale of literature in the streets. It is impossible for me to understand how in logic and common sense it is possible to arrive at any other conclusion. If the ordinance as a whole was declared 'void on its face,' is it not an inescapable conclusion that any particular part

of that ordinance was likewise declared 'void on its face'? And if it is agreed that this is so, is it not finally inescapable that that part of the Griffin, Ga., ordinance which prohibits 'literature of any kind.... being sold....' is likewise 'void on its face'—that is, unconstitutional, and constituting interference with the constitutional rights of citizens?

"I should like to call your attention to another point which in our judgment unmistakably establishes the fact that the United States Supreme Court, in rendering its decision in the Lovell vs. The City of Griffin, Ga., case intended to include, and did in fact include, reference to the sale of literature in the streets. The United States Supreme Court decision cites as supporting evidence that citizens have the right to distribute and sell literature in the streets without a license, and as an element of the right of free speech and free press, the fact that Thomas Paine, among others, distributed his pamphlets in the cause of the American Revolution. I quote specifically from the Supreme Court decision:

"The liberty of the press is not confined to newspapers and periodicals. It necessarily embraces pamphlets and leaflets. *These indeed have been historic weapons in the defense of liberty, as the pamphlets of Thomas Paine and others in our own history abundantly attest.*"

"I have satisfied myself that the original pamphlets circulated by Thomas Paine were SOLD, the proof, among other things, consisting in the fact that each pamphlet bore a price. It seems to me to be an inescapable conclusion that since the

Paine pamphlets were sold, then through the United States Supreme Court opinion, in citing these pamphlets as instances of circulation of such pamphlets constituting elements of the right of free speech, etc., etc., the Court thereby definitely intended to include, and did include, the sale of pamphlets, as well as the free distribution of literature, etc., in its decision in the Lovell vs. The City of Griffin, Ga., case. To contend otherwise is to argue, it seems to me, that either the Supreme Court was ignorant of the well known fact that the Paine pamphlets were offered for sale, or that the Supreme Court was guilty of rendering a decision incomplete and in careless and loose language.

"I am sure that upon giving mature consideration and thought to this question, you will agree with us that under the decisions of the United States Supreme Court cited in this letter, and further amplified and reiterated in the most recent decision of the United States Supreme Court involving the four municipalities, the right of a political party, among others, to SELL, as well as to distribute, literature in the streets is not open to dispute.

"I am forwarding a copy of this letter to His Honor the Mayor, as well as to our local representative. I would appreciate your early acknowledgment and reply to this letter.

"Sincerely yours,

(Signed) "Arnold Petersen,

"National Secretary,
"Socialist Labor Party
of America."

A reply was received from the Indianapolis Corporation Counsel, Mr.

Edward H. Knight, in which the usual argument about peddling was given us, the claim being also made that the Supreme Court decision covered free distribution only, and not sale. To this the National Secretary sent this reply:

"February 2, 1940.

"Edw. H. Knight,

"Corporation Counsel,

"City of Indianapolis, etc.

"My dear Sir:

"I have read your letter of January 29 very carefully, and note your insistence that the City of Indianapolis possesses the right to prohibit the sale of political and educational literature in the streets of Indianapolis, except by those engaged in such sale taking out a vendor's license. I have noted particularly your contention that you agree with my interpretation of the several decisions of the United States Supreme Court, except that you contend that the United States Supreme Court decisions related to free distribution only, and not to sale. You make this contention despite the facts to which I referred in my letter to Mr. Reddington of January 15, in which I cited the fact that the United States Supreme Court took cognizance of the City of Griffin ordinance as a whole, and declared that ordinance void on its face as a whole, including that part of the ordinance which declared the sale of literature illegal except upon the taking out of a license. You also completely ignore the point which I made concerning the language of the Supreme Court with respect to activities which properly came within the concept of free speech, etc., and which the United States Supreme Court deci-

sion further specifically identified with the circulation of pamphlets by Tom Paine, pamphlets which obviously and undoubtedly were offered for sale in the streets. The fact that you choose deliberately to ignore all that I said with regard to the reference of the Supreme Court to the Paine pamphlets is, in my judgment, extremely significant. Is it possible that you could not find an answer to my contention in this respect, without admitting that the ordinance of the City of Indianapolis which you are invoking is in conflict with the decisions of the United States Supreme Court cited in my letter?

"You quote the following from the most recent Supreme Court decision:

'We are not to be taken as holding that *commercial* soliciting and canvassing may not be subject to such regulations as the ordinance requires.'

"That you should cite this passage from the decision delivered by Justice Roberts is indeed astounding, since that very passage confirms the contention which we are making. The Supreme Court decisions had theretofore dealt with the rights of citizens to distribute political or educational literature in the streets, maintaining that this right constituted part of the constitutional guarantees of free speech, etc. At great pains the Supreme Court decision emphasized the special quality of the literature, etc., that was under consideration, distinguishing clearly the distribution of that literature from literature and merchandise generally offered as commercial products, and for the private profit of vendors. Justice Roberts, apparently desiring to emphasize this decision still more,

specifically made clear that the Court did not intend to deprive municipalities of their right properly to regulate the sale, etc., of commercial products. What could have been the point in Justice Roberts making the special reference to 'commercial soliciting and canvassing,' if it was not that he wanted to establish clearly that a distinction must be drawn between political and similar literature offered primarily as a means of communicating thoughts, etc., and as an exercise of free speech, etc., and on the other hand, the offering for sale of commodities (whether books or any other merchandise) for private profit and in the interest of purely private establishments?

"The fact, of course, is that the Socialist Labor Party is not a commercial establishment; in offering for sale its political literature, etc., on the streets, it is not appearing in the role of a vendor, but definitely and unmistakably as a group of citizens having the right to convey information in the public interest, and as an exercise of freedom of speech, etc. We do not argue that municipalities do not possess the right to regulate the sale and distribution of commercial products pure and simple, products offered for sale in order to make profit for private commercial establishments. We do argue that the right to regulate the sale of commercial products must not, and cannot, be used as a means whereby to prohibit the sale of political and educational literature, in keeping with the very plain language and clear intent of the decisions rendered by the United States Supreme Court. To invoke the right to regulate the sale of commercial

products for private profit in the streets in order to prohibit the free and untrammelled communication of information in the form of printed matter (whether offered free or for sale) seems to me to be a clear case of attempting to circumvent the decisions of the United States Supreme Court. I call your attention specifically to the following passage from the most recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court (in the cases of the four municipalities):

'To require censorship through license which makes impossible the free and unhampered distribution of pamphlets strikes at the very heart of the constitutional guarantees.'

"Your contention, therefore, that the cities are authorized to grant a limited right of sale under a proper regulation by ordinance and license, *so that no one has an inherent right to use the streets* for any sales....' seems to me to be entirely without warrant in view of the unmistakable language of the Supreme Court decisions. Similarly unwarranted, in our opinion, is your argument 'that if permission to use the streets for the unregulated sale of your [our] literature were conceded, the same privilege would be possessed by everyone of the countless organizations, political and private, who seek to disseminate their ideas and purposes by selling literature.' Your contention here is particularly unwarranted for the reasons already stated before, namely, that a sharp and clear distinction has been drawn by the Supreme Court decisions between literature which 'seeks to disseminate ideas' and 'literature' which is offered purely and simply as merchandise and for the private profit of those dis-

tributing it. Moreover, you are guilty of an overstatement when you speak of 'countless organizations.' But in any case I fail to see what the number of organizations has to do with the principle of free speech, granting that our contention is otherwise sound.

"You also argue that there is nothing unreasonable in a municipality requiring political organizations seeking to disseminate ideas to submit to proper regulation—that is, to submit to censorship through license—and you argue that there is 'no inherent right in anybody to "sell" such literature under the guise of "freedom of speech and of the press."' If I understand this language properly, it seems to me it amounts to nothing less than a contention against the Supreme Court decisions, and a most disrespectful argument that the Supreme Court itself has been guilty of authorizing the free and untrammelled dissemination of information ('ideas') 'under the guise of "freedom of speech and of the press."'

"In all reason, and on the basis of the rights of citizens to disseminate information, clearly defined by the Supreme Court decisions, I am utterly unable to understand how the City of Indianapolis can possibly reason as it does. It might interest you to know that a similar case came up in the City of New York a year or so ago. A similar provision in the local ordinance was involved and in all essential respects the same principles were involved, and the arguments of the New York City authorities were essentially the same as those you have advanced in your letters to me. When the matter came up for a decision in the local courts,

the presiding Magistrate, the Honorable Morris Rothenberg, ruled in favor of the Socialist Labor Party, finding the City of New York to be in error in its contentions with regard to the city's requirement that members of the Socialist Labor Party, offering its literature for sale in the street, should take out a license. For your information I am enclosing a copy of Judge Rothenberg's decision. I direct your attention particularly to the clear distinction which Judge Rothenberg draws between merchandise as commonly understood and recognized, and literature offered by a political party in behalf of the principles of that political party, and offered primarily as a means of disseminating information, and the principles and ideas upheld by such organization, in the streets of the City of New York. In the case of an organization such as the Socialist Labor Party the sales feature of the distribution of literature is incidental; the distribution, by whatever means, is the all-essential consideration. In the case of commercial products offered for sale to make a profit for private individuals, the sales feature is altogether essential, the distribution per se being of importance only because without distribution no profit could be realized. With the Socialist Labor Party the fixing of a price on some of its literature is merely one of the means employed by the Party to secure the necessary financial means in carrying on its dissemination of information to the citizens—information designed to effect a public good. It is exactly the reverse in the case of commercial establishments whose sole purpose in offering their products for sale is to make money, and

on the whole regardless of the effect that such sale may possibly have on the public weal. Surely it should be possible for anyone, even one not wholly conversant in matters of law, to understand clearly this distinction and the reasons for making the distinction.

"Nor should it escape your attention that the Supreme Court in commenting on the Irvington (N.J.) ordinance, condemns the ordinance on the ground that it fails to discriminate between dissemination of views, and peddling merchandise. I quote

"While it affects others, the Irvington ordinance drawn in question in No. 11, as construed below, affects all those who, like the petitioner, desire to impart information and opinion to citizens at their homes. If it covers the petitioner's activities it equally applies to one who wishes to present his views on political, social or economic questions. *The ordinance is not limited to those who canvass for private profit; nor is it merely the common type of ordinance requiring some form of registration or license of hawkers, or peddlers.*"

"Surely, here the Supreme Court strongly distinguishes between presentation of views 'on political, social or economic questions,' and mere huckstering. But of even greater importance here is the placing of these two kinds of distribution in juxtaposition. I cannot conceive that the Supreme Court would have placed them in juxtaposition if the Court had not considered both as involving sale. To us the conclusion is logical and inescapable that, in contrasting the two, the Supreme Court definitely intended to establish, and did establish, a distinction between

selling books, etc., presenting 'views on political, social or economic questions,' and articles canvassed 'for private profit' by licensed 'hawkers, or peddlers.' To suppose otherwise is to suppose the Supreme Court guilty of inexcusable carelessness, or of lacking in ability to reason in line with elementary logic. The force of the decisions of the Supreme Court is overwhelmingly on the side of drawing a clear distinction between offering, free or for sale, literature designed to serve the public good, regardless of whether or not the end is actually achieved, or demonstrably shown to be capable of being achieved in advance—and, on the other hand, merchandise or commercial products canvassed 'for private profit.'

"You suggest in the last paragraph of your letter, in effect, that if we don't agree with your 'interpretation' of the Supreme Court decisions we may take the City of Indianapolis into court. What this actually implies, it seems to me, is that regardless of the United States Supreme Court decisions, citizens may be compelled time and again to take municipalities into the courts in order that already clearly defined rights may again be passed upon. It also means that upon organizations such as the Socialist Labor Party there would be thrown an intolerable burden, a financial burden, entirely unjustified in view of the decisions made repeatedly by the Supreme Court of the United States.

"I sincerely hope that upon reviewing this question further you will agree that we are entirely correct in what you call our interpretation of the decisions of the United States Supreme Court. If, however,

you persist in your present determination to read into the Supreme Court decisions that which is clearly ruled out by the highest court itself, you will leave us no choice but to have the matter tested in court. This presumably would involve the submission to arrest by one of our members. At least I can conceive of no other method whereby this matter might be further tested in the manner that you seem to consider necessary. If, then, no other alternative is left us, we shall probably feel impelled to pursue this course. I think I ought to warn you, and the City of Indianapolis, that if any of our members is arrested because he exercised the rights clearly affirmed in the United States Supreme Court decisions, we shall, upon reaffirmation of these rights in the Local and State Courts of Indiana, sue those directly responsible for false arrest, with all that that implies. I should like to emphasize that we are not here making an idle threat, but simply attempting to make very clear to you that we mean to exercise the rights clearly granted us by the Constitution, and reaffirmed in unmistakable language by the United States Supreme Court, and that we take this occasion to inform you of the possible consequences that may be visited upon the responsible authorities for obstructing or interfering with these rights.

"In order that we may take whatever steps may be necessary in this connection, I trust you will favor me with an early reply.

"Respectfully yours,
"Socialist Labor Party
of America,

(Signed) "Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary."